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## THE SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE.

**T**HOUGH the foregoing words are placed at the head of this paper, it is not intended to consider here the Scottish Communion Office as a whole. Only one part of it will come into view, that part which we call the Prayer of Consecration. And even in that Prayer, the Words of Institution, the Oblation and the Invocation of the Holy Spirit are all that will be dealt with, and that only historically.

To deal, however, with these intelligently, we must go far back in Liturgical History, and work patiently on through the story of many years and manifold changes. The process may be wearisome; the results, it is believed, will by no means be unimportant.

"It is now thoroughly recognized," says Mr. Hammond, "that there are five main Groups or Families of Liturgies; which are distinguished from each other chiefly, though not solely, by the different arrangement of their parts. Three of these are Oriental; one holds an intermediate position, being Western in regard to the countries in which it was

used, and to its wealth of collects, Prefaces, and other variable elements which are part of its characteristic features, while at the same time it presents such unmistakably Eastern peculiarities as to point to the East (and not improbably to Ephesus in particular) as the region of its origin; and one that is purely Western." \*

These five Groups or Families Mr. Hammond classifies as follows: I. Liturgies of Western Syria and derivatives; II. Liturgies of Alexandria and derivatives; III. Liturgies of Eastern Syria and derivatives; IV. Hispano-Gallican Liturgies; and V. Roman Liturgy and derivatives. "We have to add 'derivatives,' because no single term would cover all the members of the groups."

Belonging, not improbably, to Family I., though older, probably, than any of its different types, is what is called, not very correctly, the Clementine Liturgy. It is found in the eighth Book of the so-called Apostolical Constitutions, and it is now thought that "it represents fairly the pre-Constantinian Liturgy of about the middle of the third century." This is not the place to discuss either the authorship or date of the Constitutions. The probability is that they were "compiled in the fifth century out of at least three previously existing treatises;" while it is obvious to remark that the mode of its preservation in such a work has given to the Clementine Liturgy this great advantage, "that being incorporated in a literary document, it is free from any suspicion of having undergone interpolation either in doctrine or ritual." †

In the Anaphora of this venerable Liturgy, and in what we should call the Prayer of Consecration, we find the following passages:

"Having, therefore, in remembrance those things which He endured for our sakes, we give thanks unto Thee, O God Almighty, not as we ought, but as we are able, and fulfil

\* Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. xvi. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to say that Liturgy is used here and throughout this paper in its strict signification.

† Hammond, *ut sup.*, p. xliii.



His institution. For in the night in which He was betrayed, taking bread into His holy and spotless hands, and looking up to Thee, His God and Father, and breaking it, He gave it to His disciples, saying, This is the Mystery of the New Covenant; take of it, eat; this is My Body which is broken for many for the remission of sins. Likewise, also, having mixed the cup of wine and water, and having sanctified it, He gave it to them saying, Drink ye all of it, for this is My blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins; do this in remembrance of Me; for as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do show My death till I come.

"Wherefore, having in remembrance His passion and death and resurrection from the dead, and His return to Heaven, and His future second appearing when He shall come with glory and power to judge the quick and dead and to render to every man according to His works, we offer to Thee, the King and God, according to His institution, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee, through Him, that Thou hast thought us worthy to stand before Thee and to serve Thee in the priestly office.\*

"And we beseech Thee that Thou wilt look graciously upon these gifts, now lying before Thee, O Thou God who needest nothing from us,† and graciously accept them to the honor of Thy Christ, and send down on this sacrifice Thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that He may exhibit ‡ this bread, the body of Thy Christ, and this cup, the blood of Thy Christ, that they who shall receive it may be confirmed in godliness, may obtain remission of sins, may be delivered from the devil

\* Greek *τεταρτεύειν*; occurs Luke i. 8.

† Greek *ἀνευδής*. "Self-sufficient" is not, to English ears, a pleasant translation. See Prov. xxviii. 27, and compare Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I. 13, 57; and Athenagoras, *Legat.* 13.

‡ Greek *ἀποφῆναι*. Many translate "make;" but surely the word never means that. In classical Greek it has several significations (see Liddell and Scott), any one of three of which, (1) show, (2) declare, (3) represent as being, might apply here. It does not occur in the New Testament. In the LXX. it is used in Job xxvii. 5, xl. 3 (Eng. Vers. xl. 8), in the sense of declare or pronounce. See also *Martyrium Ignat.*, 2, and Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I. 20, 43, 57; II. 7; in all which cases it is used in the same sense as in the passages from Job. I have, following others, translated it *exhibit*—of course before God as well as man—but it cannot fairly be translated *make*.

and his deceit, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of Thy Christ, and may attain eternal life, Thou Almighty Lord, being reconciled to them." \*

Here, then, we find a commemoration of our Lord's Words of Institution, a formula of Oblation and a formula of Invocation of the Holy Spirit; and they stand in the order in which they are here named. At present we only need to note these obvious facts.

What is true of the Clementine is true also of every great Eastern Liturgy in all the first three groups above enumerated, with possibly—not probably—a single exception. The Liturgy of S. James, whether the Greek or the Syriac; the Liturgy of Constantinople, whether with the Anaphora of S. Basil or that of S. Chrysostom; the Liturgy of the Orthodox Armenian Church; the Liturgy of S. Mark, whether with the Anaphora of S. Cyril or that of S. Basil;

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\*Greek *καταλλάγντος*. The expression that God is "reconciled to us" is widely objected to as "unscriptural," and has been pressed as an objection to the antiquity of this Clementine Liturgy. It may be well to remember that, though it is literally true that wherever in the New Testament the reconciliation between God and man is expressed by the word *καταλλάσσω* or *ἀποκαταλλάσσω*, the phrase used is, "to reconcile man to God," or what is equivalent to it; yet there are other passages in which another phrase is used, which can imply nothing else than (using the English word *reconcile* in precisely the same sense) "to reconcile God to man," literally to propitiate God, to procure His favor, to turn away His displeasure. . . . "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself." But it can never be said of the world, of the whole race of mankind, that they turned to God, putting away their sins, laying aside their enmity. Numbers, blessed be His Name, have done so, and will yet do so; but the world has not and will not. What, then, is meant when it is said that God did reconcile the world unto Himself? Let the Apostle's next words declare: "not imputing their trespasses unto them." Herein was the reconciliation of man to God. God did not impute to man his sins. He forgave him: He was propitiated towards him; He opened out a way of access to him; in one word He was reconciled to him." Heurtley, *Doctrine of the Atonement*, the VIIIth of the Oxford Sermons on Christian Faith and the Atonement. The sermon, with its Scripture and other references, is worthy of careful study. The objection is a strange one and the use made of it in regard to this Liturgy is still more strange.

the Ethiopic Liturgy, whether in the *Canon Universalis*, or in the short outline found in the "Apostolical Ordinances;" all these present these three things and in the same unvarying order. It is enough, again, for the present simply to note the unquestionable facts.

The one possible—as we shall see not probable—exception is found in the third of the groups above-named, the Liturgies of Eastern Syria. These are sometimes called the Nestorian Liturgies. There are three of them: the Liturgy of Nestorius, the Liturgy of Theodore, and the Liturgy of SS. Adaeus and Maris. Of these the last named is, undoubtedly, far the most ancient, antedating considerably the Council of Ephesus in 431.\* In this last-named Liturgy the Words of Institution do not appear, and this fact gives rise to two questions: first, Were they ever in the Liturgy? and secondly, If they were, where should they now be inserted?

As to the first question, Mr. Hammond gives six strong reasons—to which it may suffice to refer—to warrant the generally accepted conclusion that the Words of Institution did always form part of the Liturgy; the reason of their apparent omission being "partly the sacredness of the words, and partly that they were well known and were supplied traditionally." As to the proper place for their insertion Mr. Hammond agrees with Prof. Bickell in inserting them before the Great Intercession, after which follows the Great Oblation and the Invocation. The reason given seems sufficient, namely, that we thus follow "the analogy of the other two Liturgies of Nestorius and Theodore, which in other respects are framed on the exact model of this."

We are therefore warranted in saying that in all Eastern Liturgies we find the Words of Institution, the Oblation and the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, in the order given.†

\* See a full statement of the matter by Hammond *ut sup.* Introd. § ix.

† Dr. J. M. Neale, speaking of the Malabar Liturgy as given by the *Portuguese revisers*—who would of course be influenced by Roman usage—says, "Here the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, *contrary to the*

Leaving the East we pass to the West, reaching the fourth Group, the Hispano-Gallican, and have before us the Gallican and Mozarabic Liturgies. This Family is often called the Ephesine, and it would seem not without reason. Here it is impossible to do more than to state results to which others have come.\* Sir William Palmer says: "It appears altogether probable that the Gallican Liturgy was derived originally from the instructions given by S. John to the churches of Asia and Phrygia, and therefore that we may invest it with the dignity of an Apostolical Liturgy."† Mr. Hammond thinks it "not unreasonable to claim some connection with Ephesus for this group of Liturgies."‡ He also thinks—which is certainly not improbable—that "the Mozarabic and Gallican [Liturgies] are sister growths and not derived one from the other."

In both these Liturgies there was an Invocation as well as an Oblation. Irenæus says (and he, writing at Lyons, must have in mind the Gallican Liturgy), "The bread which is of the earth having received the *Invocation of God* is no longer common bread but the Eucharist." The word translated invocation is *ἐπίκλησιν*; and it is worthy of notice that Basil and Cyril of Jerusalem use the same word in evidently the same technical sense.§ In another passage Irenæus speaks even more distinctly. "We offer to God the bread and the cup of blessing, giving thanks to Him for that He hath commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our nourishment, and, having finished the offer-

*use of every other Oriental Liturgy*, preceded the Words of Institution. This, in itself, would be a sufficient proof that an alteration had been made; though, very carelessly, if not *mala fide*, no notice is given of it." On the strength of this statement he changed, in his translation, the order. Neale and Littledale, *Translations of the Primitive Liturgies*, Third Edit. p. 165.

\* Hammond, *ut sup.* Introduction, §§ xi., xii. and xiii. and p. xxxvi.; Sir W. Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*, Sections V., IX. and X.; and Neale, *Liturgiology*, p. 129.

† *Origines Liturgicæ*, Vol. I. p. 157.

‡ *Liturgies, etc.*, p. lxiii.

§ Harvey's *Irenæus*, Vol. II. pp. 205-207 and notes.

ing, we invoke the Holy Spirit that He may exhibit [or declare, ἀποφάνη] this sacrifice and bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ, that they who shall receive these antetypes may obtain remission of sins and everlasting life."\* This passage is a remarkable one. It proves, beyond question, that in the time of Irenæus (d. A.D. 202 or 208) the Liturgy of Gaul contained an Invocation of the Holy Ghost following the Oblation of the bread and cup. Moreover, when we compare the words of Irenæus with those of the Clementine Liturgy their agreement is too clear and precise to be explained as a mere chance-matter. The Liturgy reads "Send down Thy Holy Spirit on this sacrifice, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that He may exhibit [ἀποφάνη] this bread, the body of Thy Christ, and this cup, the blood of Thy Christ, that they who shall receive," etc. Irenæus says as above, using the same word ἀποφάνη, a word which is found, it is believed, in no Liturgy but the Clementine.†

## CLEMENTINE.

ὅπως ἀποφάνη τὸν ἄρτον  
τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ χριστοῦ  
σου καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ-  
τον αἶμα τοῦ χριστοῦ σου  
ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες, κ.τ.λ.

## IRENÆUS.

ὅπως ἀποφάνη τὴν θυσίαν  
ταύτην, καὶ τὸν ἄρτον  
σῶμα τοῦ χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ  
ποτήριον τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ χρισ-  
τοῦ ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες,  
κ.τ.λ.

How is this striking agreement to be explained? Does Irenæus quote from the Clementine, or the Clementine from him? Or is it not much more likely that they are independent witnesses to primitive uses, going back to the period of the persecutions and extending "far beyond the limits of Syria or Palestine?"‡ This ancient use—call it

\* Harvey's *Irenæus*, Vol. II. p. 502.

† The Greek exhibits the agreement more strikingly than any translation can.

‡ The petitions in the Clementine Liturgy for "those who persecute us because of the Name of the Lord;" for "the king and all in authority, and all the army, that they may be peaceable towards us;" and,

Ephesine or what we will—carried from the East to Lyons, assuredly shaped the ancient Liturgy of Gaul, and certifies us that it contained the Words of Institution, the Oblation, and the Invocation in the order in which they appear in all Eastern liturgies.

The case is equally clear as to the Mozarabic Liturgy, the agreement of which with the Gallican cannot well be questioned.\* Isidore, of Seville (d. A.D. 636), one of the three bishops to whom we owe "the perfected structure" of this Liturgy,† gives testimony that cannot be gainsayed. He says, describing its seven prayers, "so famous in early Spanish writers," that the sixth—called *Post Pridic*, and corresponding to the Gallican *Post Secreta* or *Post Mysteriorum*—was "the confirmation of the Sacrament, that the Oblation which is offered to God, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit, may be confirmed as the Sacrament of the body and blood."‡ This liturgy, then, agrees in the regard under consideration with the Liturgies of Gaul and of the East.

Before proceeding to the fifth of the Liturgical Groups or Families, the Roman and its derivatives, let us see what point has been reached and what facts have been established.

First, we find in all Groups of Liturgies, and single Liturgies as well, three things: a repetition of the Words of

again, "for kings and all in authority, that they may be peaceable towards us, so that enjoying a quiet and peaceable life we may pass it in all godliness and honesty," indicate the period of the persecutions of the pagan empire. In the last petition S. Paul's exact words (1 Tim. ii. 2) are quoted, with precisely those words added, "that they may be peaceable towards us," which the attitude of pagan emperors towards the Church made proper, and indeed necessary.

\* Leslie, *Mozarabic Missal and Breviary*, Preface, sections v. and vi.

† Neale, *Liturgiology*, p. 170. The other two were Leander, Bishop of Seville, and Ildefonso, Archbishop of Toledo.

‡ Palmer, *Orig. Lit.*, Vol. I., pp. 164, 175; Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 510, First Ed.; Neale, *Tetralogia Liturgica*, p. 253, last sentence. Palmer also quotes Card. Bona (*Rerum Liturgicarum Libri Duo*) to the same purpose.

Institution, an Oblation, and an Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

Secondly, these three structural elements are always arranged in one unvarying order. No doubt there is in some cases "a transference to the earlier Oblation of language more befitting the great Oblation." But such a transference never takes the place of that Oblation—that Oblation is never omitted from its own proper position.

To these two facts, which have been attested by what has gone before, we have now to add a third, which brings them out into even bolder relief, namely, the "extraordinary variety of order, and that not only of minor details, but of the most important parts of the service," which the Liturgies present. Even the great Intercession "is placed now after, now before, now in the midst of the Consecration; now partly before and partly after; and, lastly, wholly away from the Consecration and in connection with the Offertory;" while the merest glance at a comparative table exhibiting the structural elements of the great Liturgies will show how variously those elements are arranged. Whatever and however great the variety may be, this uniform order of Institution, Oblation, and Invocation remains unchanged.

It is altogether beyond the purpose of this paper to consider the theological and doctrinal bearings of this remarkable fact, or to discuss the point made by Archdeacon Freeman, that "at a comparatively early period, probably in the course of the second century, a principle or habit was developed within the Church which exercised a very material effect upon the *order* of certain features in all liturgies throughout the world. This was the *disciplina arcani*, or system of reticence, which it was found necessary after a while to resort to, in order to conceal from the unbaptized the more especial mysteries of Christianity." Even if we admit the claim that "this would be likely to result in very serious dislocations of the original liturgical order," it could hardly touch the order of the three elements we are consid-



ering; for the archdeacon admits that this "system of reticence" is later than Irenæus; and the clear testimony of Irenæus, already cited—and its connection with the Clementine Liturgy must not be forgotten—shows that in his time, in Gaul at least, and so equally in the East, the Invocation followed the Oblation. It would seem, therefore, that, speaking only historically, the omission of any one of these structural elements must be a mutilation, and a change in their order a dislocation of the early liturgical arrangement.\*

One group is still to be considered: the Roman Liturgy and derivatives. From this Liturgy the Invocation disappears. Says Mr. Hammond:† "Whether the Invocation was always wanting from the Roman Liturgy, or whether it has been dropped out, is a question requiring for its answer more knowledge than is at present possessed about the details of this Liturgy in its earlier stages. Certainly, so far back as is known, there is nothing in it fully answering in scope and position to the Eastern Invocation."

Mr. Palmer quotes Optatus and Fulgentius,‡ to the effect that there was an Invocation in the African Liturgy, which he regards as "originally the same as the Roman." He also ascribes the same origin to the Ambrosian Liturgy (Milan); and Pfaff gives a form of Invocation in which prayer is made that "the invisible form and incomprehensible majesty of Thy Holy Spirit may descend, . . . which may make these our oblations Thy body and blood."§ These facts indicate, though they hardly prove, the existence of

\* Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, Vol. II., Part II., p. 386.

† *Ut sup.*, p. xxxvi.

‡ *Orig. Litur.*, Vol. I., p. 138, 2d Ed.

§ Quoted by Trevor, *Holy Eucharist*, p. 292, note c. Gelasius of Rome (d. 496), writing against the Eutychians, in his treatise *De Duabus Naturis in Christo* attributes the consecration of the Eucharist to the Holy Spirit; *Sancto Spiritu perficiente*; and this exposition not only recognizes the agency of the Holy Ghost, but also looks, to say the least, towards an Invocation. See the passage quoted by Bp. Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. iii.



an Invocation in the early Roman Liturgy. But it assuredly does not appear in the later Roman, nor in the two extant Liturgies which are to be classified with it, the Ambrosian and that of Sarum.\*

We need not say—God forbid!—that such an omission invalidates the consecration of the Eucharist. But we may say, and we must say, that it is a lamentable mutilation of the primitive Liturgy; lamentable in itself, and more lamentable in its consequences. It had, no doubt, much to do with the spread of the doctrine of Transubstantiation in the West. To consider this, however, is beyond our present purposes.

Omitting a good deal that might well be said, and that one would like to say, did space permit, we must come to the First Book of Edward VI., in 1549. Here we find the Roman mutilation corrected and the Invocation restored; but with this peculiarity, that instead of following the Oblation it precedes the Words of Institution. Mutilation is therefore exchanged for dislocation.

It has been urged that no account is to be taken of such a variation from ancient and, in fact, universal arrangement, on the ground that in the Liturgical action "the element of time must be considered to be excluded."† Even if this principle is admitted, it is difficult to see its bearing on the subject in hand. The question is not one of *time*, but of *order*; and we may exclude the former as much as we will without at all touching the latter. Says Dr. Brett: "It is certainly most natural and agreeable to order that we should first perform our parts, place our gifts upon the altar, declare that we do this in obedience to Christ's institution, make our oblation of them to God as what He has appointed to be the sacramental or representative body of His Son, and then desire that the Holy Ghost may come down upon them to make them that body in power and effect; that, by

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\* Hammond, *ut sup.*, p. xxiv.

† Ibid., p. xxxvii.

His gracious operation in them and with them, they may convey to us all the blessings purchased by Christ. But *first* to pray that the Holy Ghost may bless and sanctify them, and *then* proceed to declare that we are doing what Christ instituted by a recital of the words of institution, and making the oblation with a thankful remembrance of Christ's death, . . . does not seem so natural a situation, neither is this order agreeable to the ancient forms."\* Anyhow the variation from the great Liturgies is such that this first Liturgy of Edward VI. can never be accepted as a complete and adequate exponent of ancient and Catholic usage. Two centuries were to pass away before any national Church, in communion with the Church of England, should remedy the dislocation.

In the Revision of 1552, as all who have studied the subject know, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit disappeared, though it might possibly be thought to be "obscurely intimated under a few and those general terms;"† and the Oblation shared the same fate, though a part of what followed it was framed into a prayer which might, or might not, be said after all had communicated.‡ We need not question the sufficiency of the Consecration Prayer, utterly changed as it is from all ancient use; but we have a right to regret that the imperfection has never been remedied in the Church of England. For an imperfection it is, and it

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\* *Collection of Liturgies*, etc., p. 225, Ed. 1838. Elsewhere he terms this "a plain deviation from Catholic practice. . . . God is petitioned to bless and sanctify the elements by the Holy Ghost before we have recited the words of institution, and thereby declared or set forth our commission and our duty to perform that service."

† These words are Waterland's: *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, p. 273, Oxford Ed., 1868.

‡ Bucer's objection to the Invocation is quoted in Bulley's *Tabular View of the Variations in the Baptismal and Communion Offices*, etc., p. 178. His dread of Transubstantiation frightened him into counseling the removal of that which, kept in its proper place, is the strongest possible protest against Transubstantiation.

makes the way comparatively easy to pass from the English office to that of Rome. It is sad enough to hear a thoughtful man (who once went from England to Rome and then returned), saying of the omission of the Invocation: "It was mainly from my not having that master key . . . put into my hands in childhood . . . that I made that dreary journey to Rome which cost me fifteen years of the cream of life, and brought me back a weather-beaten soul." \* Unhappily no Revision—whether of 1559, 1604, or 1662—has brought to the English office any change in this regard. For that we must look elsewhere.

When a Prayer Book for Scotland was decided on, in the reign of James I., a question immediately arose as to what it should be. If Bishop Sage's testimony may be relied on, it appears that one of the Books of Edward VI. was used, more or less generally, in Scotland, for some seven years.† That was superseded by the Book of Common Order, or Knox's Liturgy. "This was read on week days, and on Sundays by the 'Readers,' and partially by the clergy, for nearly a century." ‡ A revision of this book appears to have been contemplated in 1601, but the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, together with other events, delayed the work.

It is not necessary, and would be tedious, to trace out the steps taken towards a Prayer Book for Scotland, in the reign of James. Suffice it to say that they took shape in a compilation which "is a cross between the English Liturgy and that of Knox. The morning service, for week days is virtually a Presbyterian revision of the Morning Service in the English Liturgy, and harmonizes with the Puritan exceptions and emendations suggested at the Hampton Court Conference, and afterwards at the Savoy." § The draft of this

\* Mr. Ffoulkes, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, Jan., 1882, p. 207.

† Bp. Sage, *Works*, Vol. I., p. 164, Spottiswoode Soc. Edition.

‡ Sprott, *Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI.*, p. ix.

§ Sprott, *ut sup.*, p. lxxi.

Book was completed in James's time, but before any decisive action in regard to it could be taken he died.\*

When the project of a Prayer Book for Scotland was raised in the reign of Charles I., this Book, "in *statu quo* King James left it," was sent to the King in 1629. It is not to be wondered at that it was by no means acceptable to Charles and his advisers. To speak of nothing else, in the office for the Holy Communion there was no Oblation, and all that approached an Invocation was the petition "Send downe, O Lord, Thy blessing upon this Sacrament, that it may be unto us the effectual exhibitivie instrument of the Lord Jesus;" † and this preceded the rehearsal of the Words of Institution.

Archbishop Laud, as he himself says, was desirous "to take the English Liturgy without any variation, that so the same Service Book might be established in all his Majesty's dominions." The Scottish bishops, on the other hand, "were strongly opposed to the proposition of Laud that the English book should be entirely and literally adopted. They represented, first, that national vanity would be wounded, if the offices of a foreign country were thus intruded on their own; and secondly, that to every one acquainted with Catholic antiquity, the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. might evidently be seen to possess a vast superiority over the existing form, in the order for celebrating the Holy Communion; that now there was a fit opportunity of returning to a more primitive use; and that a new Liturgy, based on the first Prayer Book ought to be drawn up for the Scottish Church." ‡

The Book was accordingly prepared in Scotland, Bishops Maxwell and Wedderburne being its principal compilers,

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\* This Book was printed, for the first time, in 1871, under the editorship of the Rev. Geo. W. Sprott, B.A., "from a MS. in the British Museum—probably one of the two copies which were carried to London (in 1629) and given to the King."

† Sprott, *ut sup.*, p. 72.

‡ J. M. Neale, *Life and Times of Bishop Torrey*, p. 264.

and sent to England for revision. Bishops Juxon and Wren were appointed to assist Laud in revising what came from Scotland. Juxon, however, seems to have had little to do with it. "The Book, as finally adopted, was mainly the work of Laud and English Divines, while only a portion of the Scottish Bishops concurred in it, and that not without much pressure."

It may strike us as strange that the "anti-prelatic party," as they were called in Scotland, should have favored the restoration of the Invocation in the Prayer of Consecration. But the fact cannot be questioned.\* It might also have been expected that Bishop Wren, who is described by Clarendon as "a man of a severe, sour nature, but very learned, and *particularly versed in the old Liturgies of the Greek and Latin Churches*," would have attempted to remedy the dislocated order of the first Book of Edward. No change, however, was made in this regard, and the Scottish Liturgy of 1637 exactly reproduced the order of 1549, placing the Invocation before the Words of Institution, which were followed by the Oblation. And here, as that Liturgy did not come into use, the matter rested for many years.

Passing over those years, without, however, forgetting the advance made in liturgical studies and the illustrious names connected with it, we come to the year 1696. In that year one Edward Stephens, at one time a barrister-at-law, and afterwards in Holy Orders, published "The Liturgy of the Ancients, represented as near as well may be in English Forms." In this the order of 1549 appears, *i.e.*, Invocation, Words of Institution, Oblation. This book was followed by another, by the same author, but without date, entitled "A Complete Form of Liturgy or Divine Service according to the Usage of the most Ancient Christians;" † and here (for the first time, it is believed, in any form in Eng-

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\* Sprott, *ut sup.*, pp. 108, 109.

† Both these forms are reprinted in Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*, Vol. II.

lish), the ancient order is restored, and the Invocation follows the Words of Institution and the Oblation.\*

We find the same order adopted in "a communion office taken partly from the Primitive Liturgies, and partly from the First English Reformed Common-Prayer-Book, etc.," London, 1718. This was the Non-Jurors' Book,† and it indicates the result obtained by a careful study of the great Liturgies of the ancient Church. Whatever may be thought of the scruples which prevented the Non-Jurors, as they are called,‡ from taking the oaths to William and Mary; however much we may condemn, with Bishop Ken, the continuing of a succession of Bishops and a perpetuation of the separation; whatever judgment we may pass on the controversy about the Usages; it is certain that in the matter now under consideration, the Communion Office of the Non-Jurors restored a primitive and Catholic order with all its doctrinal and theological value.

In Scotland the Scottish Liturgy fell with the Scottish Church (in 1638), but did not immediately arise again with it in 1662. Episcopacy was restored, but no man seemed daring enough to raise any question as to a Prayer Book. The Revolution of 1688 found the Scottish Church in just the condition in which the Restoration of Charles II. had placed it. Disestablishment and persecution seem then to have wrought what worldly prosperity had not wrought, and there began a partial adoption of the English Liturgy, which was also "recommended by the facility with which it was obtained through the liberality of charitable persons

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\* It ought to be said that, possibly, an earlier date should be assigned to these forms than the one given. Some expressions in a letter of Stephens's to Archbishop Tillotson, quoted by Hall (Vol. I. p. xix.) look that way. What Hall reprinted bears date 1696.

† Hall, *Frag. Lit.* Vol. V. Dr. Brett reprinted it in his *Collection of the Principal Liturgies*, etc., in 1720.

‡ Simply because they could not take the oaths to William and Mary, etc. The oath was political and not ecclesiastical.

in England, foremost among whom was Queen Anne herself." \*

In 1712 the Earl of Winton, at his own expense, reprinted the entire Scottish Prayer Book of 1637.† In 1724 there appeared in Edinburgh the "Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland," which, with certain omissions, is a verbal reprint of the office of 1637, and is supposed to be the work of Bishop Gadderar. It seems to have been the first of those many separate publications of the Office which were afterwards familiarly known as the "wee bookies." It was reprinted in 1735, with some alterations made by Bishop Gadderar, and again in 1743. In both these offices the Invocation precedes the Words of Institution. In the year just named an Episcopal Synod sitting in Edinburgh recommended the use of this "the Scottish Liturgy in the administration of the Holy Communion." Following this came the editions of 1752 and 1755, and in this office, *for the first time in Scotland*, the Invocation follows the Words of Institution and the Oblation. "In 1764, after some consultation among the prelates, the Bishops Falconer of Edinburgh, and Primus, and Forbes, of Ross and Caithness, put the office into the shape in which we have it now."‡ And this is the office which was declared by the Synod of 1811 "to be of primary authority in the Scottish Church." Later Synodical action has changed its position of pre-eminence, without, however, changing the office itself.

The first national Church, therefore, possessing the English succession and holding the principles of the English Reformation, which restored the ancient order of the three

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\* Neale's *Life of Torry*, p. 267.

† It was used only in his own chapel, under protest from Bishop Rose, of Edinburgh. Neale *ut sup.*

‡ Neale's *Life of Torry*, p. 270. All the above mentioned offices, except that of 1735, are reprinted in Hall's *Fragmenta*, Vol. V. They were, as has been hinted, incomplete, leaving much to be supplied from the English Book, and there are variations in the different printed copies.



structural elements of the Consecration Prayer in the Eucharistic office, was the Episcopal Church of Scotland. And the restoration was effected in those dark days of savage and relentless persecution that followed the unsuccessful attempt of Charles Edward Stuart in 1745. This order first appears in those ancient liturgical forms in the East, that carry us back to the age of pagan persecutions; it has survived in the East centuries of fearful sufferings for the name of Jesus; it was recovered in the West after centuries of loss, in a Church which had been deprived of its worldly honors, and suffered the spoiling of its goods, and was hunted "as a partridge in the mountains."

How it came from Scotland to us, and was incorporated into our Prayer Book in 1789, does not need to be told. It is scarcely too much to say that, in giving it to us, Scotland gave us a greater boon than when she gave us the Episcopate. That, we might have obtained, and, as events proved, should have obtained from England. This, England had not to give us. As in the Scottish Liturgy so in ours it stands—to use the words of Bishop Torrey—as "the direct and unanswerable antagonist of Popery," and, we may add, of Zwinglianism also.



## ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE FINANCIAL QUESTION IN THE CHURCH.

THOSE who are interested in the question whether our churches should be supported by pew-rents or by the offerings of the worshipers will read with great interest the paper in the April number of the *AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW* entitled "The Financial Question in the Church." It is interesting not only because it comes from the pen of a presbyter of the Church whose sound judgment, fairness, and good sense are so well and generally recognized that they have become to us household words, but also because it is almost if not quite the first presentation in the pages of a public journal of a serious and carefully prepared argument in favor of the system of renting pews. Indeed, the absence of any sufficient volume of literature on that side of the question seems to have been a moving cause in the production of the paper, for the author, in his opening sentences, tells us that the advocates of free churches have thus far had it all their own way in newspapers and pamphlets, and that the present Bishop of Ohio has been the first public

man to stand up bravely and plead the cause of the pew system. It becomes, therefore, a matter of great interest, and of considerable importance also, in view of the seriousness of the questions involved, to examine carefully the argument of the learned writer of that paper, with the view of ascertaining just how far he has succeeded in making out his case in favor of rented pews. It is not merely an idle or a curious question, but one of deep import, and largely affecting the best interests of the Church. The time has come when this question should be fairly met, fairly considered, and an answer obtained which can be practically applied and generally carried out in action. As the advocates of each system have exactly the same object in view, and as the only question between them is by which method that object can best be attained, a friendly discussion of the subject may be instructive to both parties, and be of some value to the very considerable number of people who have formed no definite opinion because the subject has not appeared to them to be of any very great importance.

From a careful reading of Dr. Craik's paper it is evident that he rests his argument upon the ground of principle, and not upon mere expediency. It may be said, perhaps, that it rests upon both principle and expediency, but certainly not upon expediency alone. His argument is, that the Church, as a Divine institution, must, on its human side, as a secular body, be sustained and administered like those other Divine institutions, the Family and the State, by purely financial arrangements. He also rests his argument upon the principle that by Divine ordinance "the obligation of supporting the ministration of the Gospel and the fabric of the Church is impartially imposed upon every one of the redeemed," and that the same Divine ordinance "distributes the burden of this obligation in consonance with the distribution of wealth, capacity and opportunity, by the workings of Providence in the world and in society." It is very clear, therefore, that we have not here to deal with that oft-repeated plea for renting pews, that it is the only practicable

way of raising a revenue, and therefore must be retained; but, on the contrary, we have the bold statement that the system is one based upon Divine ordinance, both as to the administration of the Gospel and as to giving in proportion to the means of the giver. Let us see how far these two positions have been sustained.

In order to present the argument of Dr. Craik fairly, it is necessary to quote somewhat fully. He says:

"The question, as in the instance of a civil government, just referred to, resolves itself into this: How most effectually and in the easiest way, with the least friction, and with the least possible injury to any one, to raise the income absolutely demanded by the exigencies of the Church. The Divine ordinance requires that the Church shall be maintained in the world as a practical agency for the education and salvation of the world. Another Divine ordinance commands that the State shall be organized and civil government maintained, for securing to men other provisions of God's beneficence. In both these cases alike an income, and a financial arrangement for the production of that income, are imperatively demanded.

"By the Divine constitution of the Church every one of the redeemed, receiving and embracing the Gospel, is a responsible agent in the establishment and maintenance of those integral parts of the Church known as the diocese, and the parish, or congregation. Like the other Divine institutions for the benefit of mankind, the Family and the State, the Church requires for its existence and its work a material and financial provision. For each there is a constant outgoing of expenditure; and for each there must of necessity be a constant incoming of the means to meet this expenditure.

"A family cannot subsist without an income derived from labor or from capital. A State cannot live and do its work without the income derived from taxation.

"And a State is not the less free because all its citizens are the subjects of this taxation; or because each member of the body politic has to pay for the land he cultivates, and for the house he lives in. So precisely with the Church. On its human side, having needs and requirements, like all human and divine institutions designed for the use of men, it is subject to all the laws and conditions of these varied institutions. In the State, the constantly recurring problem

is, how to distribute the requisite taxation so as to produce the least friction and the nearest approach to equality."

Here the argument is that, by Divine ordinance, the money requisite for the support of the Church should be secured by methods which may be called taxation, and which are in fact adopted in the administration of a State. This, as a general proposition, we gladly concede, for it is the foundation of the whole argument of the Free Church advocate. But, what shall be taxed? That is the pertinent question. The only Divine ordinance on this subject ever given to man taxed man's possessions and man's income. All National, State, and Municipal laws of taxation do the same, in one form or another. But a pew-rent does not tax a man's means or income; on the contrary, it distinctly taxes the privileges of worship. Let us look at this more closely. God's ordinance of the tithe declares that a tenth part of all that a man receives from the fruits of the land, from his labor, and from the income of his possessions shall be yielded up. That is taxation pure and simple. But can Dr. Craik show us any instance where, by Divine ordinance, a tax has been imposed upon God's worship, or upon any other of the privileges He has vouchsafed to man? On the contrary, was not one of the very objects of the tithe to make sure that the inestimable privilege of worship should certainly be made available to all? Or, let us look at it as we see it in the Family and in the State. Would it ever occur to any father of a household to impose a tax upon each chair at the family table, or to a National, State, or Municipal government to impose an annual tax upon a certain number of citizens for the exclusive privilege of crossing the public streets or entering the public buildings? What would be thought of a system of taxation by which a city should raise a revenue for maintaining a park by renting out to certain individuals the exclusive right to drive over its roads, walk upon its paths, or occupy its rustic seats? Taxing the privilege of occupying seats in churches is therefore not legitimate taxation according to either Divine or

human methods, but is simply the bargaining for a privilege in favor of one person to the exclusion of another. The moment an attempt is made to put it on any higher ground than a mere commercial expedient to make ends meet it fails to square with either God's ordinance to His church or with human methods in the family and State. The moment an effort is made to prop it up upon either a Divine or human principle of taxation for support, the wretched system is exposed in all its deformity. There is no escaping from this conclusion except by denying that the right to attend services in churches and to worship God in His temple are privileges common to all men. If it be claimed that a church building is intended for the use of a certain number of people, who, in order to secure the privilege of worshipping in it, must pay a pew-rent, then this whole argument that pew-rents are a species of taxation falls to the ground; for, so far from being a tax, the whole scheme is a mere business transaction—a bargain for a seat in a church—and can be placed on no higher ground than a contract for an annual or semi-annual season ticket of admission, with a reserved seat attached. That man should be taxed of his possessions and of his income for the maintenance of God's worship and for the discharge of his duties to his fellow men is a law as old as man himself; but the law is God's law, and its forum is man's conscience. It was by the operation of this law that the temple worship was maintained, that Christianity was carried over the whole world, that cathedrals and churches innumerable were built and sustained, that missions were established and carried on in every part of the habitable globe. This law is still in force, and as binding now as it ever was; but it amounts to a plain denial of its Divine origin and its sanctity to maintain that it finds its operation in a system by which no church shall be built without writing over its porch that none shall enter to worship in it except those who can produce a receipted bill to show that they have bought and paid for the exclusive right to occupy particular portions of it.

Now let us consider the second branch of Dr. Craik's argument. It is that the system of pew-rents is in consonance with and supplies the best practical method of securing obedience to the Divine command that every one should give according to his ability. Now we should have thought this the very last thing to be claimed for this system. How can pew-rents be made to measure even approximately the ability of each one to give? Dr. Craik sees a difficulty here, and meets it by a suggestion that more attention should be paid to what he calls "that equalizing law which distributes the rental according to the distribution which God has made of His gifts of providence." And he further says: "To make the system work justly, fairly, and in accordance with the established laws and working of Divine Providence, the taxation must be so adjusted that the well-to-do may furnish by far the larger part of the required income. . . . Then let pews and seats be placed at lower and lower rents, so that every person may pay for the same according to his or her ability. This will fairly distribute the burden and the privilege of maintaining the ministrations of the Gospel according to the distribution which God has made of the bounties of His providence. This is in close analogy with an income tax, with a property tax, and with customs duties by the State."

Now here we are compelled to prefer against Dr. Craik the charge so often made against advocates of free churches, of propounding a beautiful theory which cannot be reduced to practice. Let us look at a large congregation, composed of all sorts and conditions of men, and see how far the application of graded pew-rents can be made to them "in close analogy to an income tax." Here is a man who, from no fault of his own, is absolutely penniless, and dependent upon others for the very means of supporting life. To such a man the deep joy of praise, the strong consolation of prayer, and the priceless gift of the Sacrament are the most precious things of life. No one will deny that in God's sight such a man is the peer of the richest in wealth and the highest

in estate, and that to him before all others should be accorded the fullest opportunities for worship. How shall we apply the system of graded pew-rents, in close analogy to the income tax, to him? There can be but one answer. Either we must turn him out of the church altogether, or thrust him upon the chance courtesy and uncertain regard of the seat-holders, or else relegate him to some distant and dingy corner, in a seat too poor to rent at any price, but not too obscure to make him painfully conspicuous as an illustration that his fellow men are respecters of persons in the house of the Lord of Heaven who is not. We may leave him there, wondering perchance whether the inventor of the system of graded pew-rents ever read the Second Chapter of the Epistle of James, and we may turn our attention to another man in that large congregation, and see how that same graded system will apply to him, in close analogy to an income tax. Here is an old bachelor worth five millions—perhaps more. How much pew-rent is he to pay? Is he to be examined as to his income, and made to pay a proper proportion of it, or is he to pay the same as his next-door neighbor, who works very hard to support his large family, all of whom happen to be very fond of coming to church? Who is to decide this difficult and very delicate question? Or, if once decided, by what human device can be extracted from him in the form of pew-rent a sum of money representing his proper share, in proportion to his wealth, of the money needed to support the church? Give him one of the largest and best situated pews in the church, and he could be charged no higher price per annum for it than any one else would be willing to pay for the same pew, or than other pews equally eligible would command. It is very clear that, under any system of pew-rents, a price must be set upon each pew, and each one must be rented to any one willing to pay the price. For if no price were put upon the pews, but a rental charged in each case according to the means of the tenant or occupant, that would be a complete abandonment of the whole system; for the tax would then



be upon the individual, according to his ability, and not upon the seats in the church, which is precisely the doctrine of the advocate of free churches. So we may venture to say that Dr. Craik has not succeeded, by the device of graded pew-rents, in removing the difficulties in the way of applying the system in such manner as to secure the support of worship according to the means of the worshippers. As he suggests no other plan for overcoming these difficulties, we may safely leave it to thoughtful people to consider whether they can be overcome at all. The problem can be stated in a very few words. The Divine law that every one shall give for the maintenance of God's worship and for the work of His Church according to his ability is imperative and binding upon all. What system of levying a tax for the privilege of occupying the seats in a church can be devised which will accord with the spirit of this law and lead to its obedience in practice? When the ingenuity of some unusually clever advocate of pew-rents shall have made an effort to solve this problem, it will be time enough to look at the results. They will to a certainty present the sorry spectacle of a church in which the rich shall be conspicuous in their wealth, the poor branded with the stigma of poverty, and in which those without money will have no place at all. And then it will be time to inquire how far such a state of things is consistent with the Divine truth that God is not a respecter of persons, with His command that His people should not be respecters of persons, and with His expressed wish that His house should be a house of prayer for *all* people.

But Dr. Craik, probably feeling that there may be a doubt in the minds of his readers as to the wisdom or practicability of his scheme of graded pew-rents, tells us that pew-rents are likely to bring about obedience to the Divine command that every one shall give according to his ability because they serve to get rid of the necessary expenses of maintaining the Church services, and then the people are left free to contribute according to their means to other Church



work, such as missions, works of charity, and the like. He enlarges this point in the following paragraph:

"The head of a family does not count the tax levied by the State, nor the home provided for his family, and the current expenses of the family in food and clothing, as any part of his charities. But if those varied costs of living were mixed up in one common fund with the charities, I submit that this large and often inconvenient expenditure would dominate, and, to a large extent, absorb the charities. So in the Church. The provision of a house of worship, and furnishing it by a levied tax, so as to exclude the idea of charity, with all the appliances of a beautiful and generous service for the spiritual needs of the congregation to which we belong, will not come under the category of charity, but will be wanted rather as a part of the family expenditure. And the more generous and helpful this expenditure is, the more copiously does the stream of charity flow forth from these enlarged and grateful hearts to give to others these inestimable blessings."

Now it is very evident that if reliance is placed upon this proposition to show that pew-rents lead to obedience to the law that we shall all give according to our ability, then there is a virtual abandonment of the proposition that pew-rents are a legitimate outgrowth from that law. The ground is shifted, and the argument now is that pew-rents are simply an expedient to get rid of certain current expenses, so that we may be free to give of our ability to other things. Now this proposition is a serious one, and we should consider it very carefully. It amounts to a statement that the worship of God, in a particular church building, and by a particular body of people, is a different thing from the same worship in another church and by another body of people, and to be provided for with money secured by a wholly different method. It is difficult to conceive on what possible grounds this proposition can be sustained. If the people of a certain church give the money requisite to support the worship there, and also give to the support of missions elsewhere, why should the money for one be given by taxed pew-rents, and for the other by free-will offerings? Is not God's wor-

ship the same everywhere, and if free-will offerings are the recognized means of maintaining part of it, should they not be the means of maintaining the whole of it? Is it reasonable to suppose that the congregation of a large and wealthy city church, who literally obey God's law by giving according to their means for the support of God's worship elsewhere, cannot, and will not, if the opportunity is afforded them, give according to the same law for the maintenance of worship in their own parish church? What a degradation of God's worship does this spectacle exhibit, presenting it abroad in its fullness and in obedience to His law by free-will offerings, and at home, restricting it to a select few by the miserable human device of pew-rents! We cannot escape the conclusion that this is trifling with our duty. We ought not to forget that the mission of the Gospel is the same everywhere, no matter what may be the varying conditions as to time and place, and that every church is a mission church, whether built of rough-hewn timbers in the distant wilds, or of chiseled stone in a populous and wealthy city. We ought not to forget that every church when consecrated is expressly given to God and becomes His house of prayer for all people, and that no part of it can properly be appropriated by any one to the exclusion of others. We ought not to forget that in God's house distinctions on the ground of wealth or social position are displeasing to God and hurtful to His people, and that if, therefore, upon principle it is right that any one church should be free, then it is right that all should be free. And, moreover, we ought not to forget that pews and the appropriation of seats in churches had their origin in the spirit of selfishness and arrogance only two hundred years ago, when the dark cloud of Puritanism lay like a pall over the Church of England, and that the same spirit which was a moving cause of their adoption is likely to be in great part the pervading spirit of the system so long as it continues.

It should also be noted in this connection that pew-rents, so far from tending to stimulate the pew-holders to give

according to their ability, are in fact likely to produce quite the opposite effect. It can hardly be seriously contended that a man will be aided in forming the habit of giving systematically and liberally by a tax imposed upon the means of reaching the frame of mind in which he will be likely to acquire that habit. The formation of such a habit necessarily arises from a knowledge and recognition of his duty in that regard; and if, in his first approach to the sources of such knowledge, he is confronted by a tax upon the seat he is to occupy in the church, it is but natural, and very reasonable also, that he should consider the payment of his pew-rent a full discharge of his obligation. Putting it upon the same ground on which Dr. Craik rests his argument, a practical man, who is in the habit of working for the support of his household, and of paying his taxes for the privileges he enjoys from the State and the city or town in which he lives, may with reason suppose that, upon payment of his tax for his Church privileges in the shape of pew-rents, he has paid his full share of the money required for the household of the Church, and that any further demand upon him is evidence of bad business management on the part of those who have the matter of taxation in charge. From the very nature of the case, therefore, pew-rents must tend to hinder rather than to develop both the knowledge and practice of the duty of giving according to one's ability, because they teach a totally different doctrine. The fact that large and wealthy congregations of city churches give very liberally for Church work outside their own parish proves nothing, unless it be shown that pew-rents help such liberal giving. If, as we have attempted to show, pew-rents are a hindrance instead of an aid, such congregations give in spite of pew-rents, not by reason of them, and they would certainly give a great deal more if they could get the hindrance out of the way. And that such is in fact the result has been proven in many instances brought to the attention of the Free Church Association during the few years it has been in existence and in active operation, and it may reasonably

be presumed that such would be the result in all cases where, with full faith and courage, congregations should get rid of the incubus of pew-rents, and let the better plan of free-will offerings have full play. If among such known instances there be found comparatively few large city churches, it is because they are, as a rule, the oldest of our churches, and for that reason the pew-rent system is found more deeply rooted and imbedded in them than in others. They live on, generation after generation, in the depressing atmosphere of pew-rents, sustained by a vitality which seems strong enough for them simply because it is vitality and they have never known any stronger. This somewhat comatose condition is the hardest to cure, because the very dullness of its vitality makes active effort difficult. In those cases where they have gathered up strength and courage to make the change, the shock has been much less severe than was expected, and they have emerged from their lethargic state to breathe a purer and more exhilarating atmosphere, and to live in a larger and healthier sphere of action. In their present condition the people in such churches suffer from the *idola specus*. Their view, extending scarcely beyond their own immediate surroundings, is largely retrospective and introspective, and they content themselves with the complacent feeling that what was good for their fathers and grandfathers is good enough for them. Could they look out into the big world outside they would see what might very much surprise them and perhaps disturb their self-complacency. They would see that of all the churches in the land more than half are supported by free-will offerings, and less than half by pew-rents. They would see that in many dioceses free-will offerings are the rule and pew-rents the rare exception, and that in many others such a thing as a pew-rent is not known. They would see that of our 28 Bishops, 65 have expressly given their adherence to the plan of free-will offerings as the only Scriptural mode of providing money for support of churches, and have expressed their condemnation

of pew-rents as offering a hindrance to the Church's work. Until they see all this, and much more of like import, the people of our large city churches will live on the same old life, doing a great deal of good, but not doing a tithe of what it is easily in their power to do; clinging to pew-rents as to a sheet-anchor which they think is necessary to save them from being dashed to pieces upon the rock of financial distress, unconscious all the time that, if once cut loose from this weight which holds them down, they would find, under Divine guidance, in the broad ocean beyond, not only entire safety from danger but a larger and healthier sphere of active work.

Let the whole question then be studied out and worked out on the line of principle, and principle only, and there can be no doubt as to which way the questions that arise will be answered, and the issues involved be decided. In a simple obedience to God's law that we shall all give in proportion to our means, in the faithful recognition of His command that His house shall be a house of prayer for all people, and in the practical application of the Christian truth, that "all are equal within the church's gate," may be found the foundation principles on which alone we can safely rely to reach conclusions in this matter, and on which alone we can base any intelligent action. Until the system of pew-rents can be shown to be consistent with these principles, it is not necessary for the advocates of free and open churches to show affirmatively that the system for which they contend is right. It is only necessary to show, as is now in fact being shown over the whole length and breadth of the land, if people would but look and see, that the principles for which they contend, like all good principles, are capable of being reduced to practice. But, on the other hand, if pew-rents are to be retained, it unquestionably does rest upon the advocates of that system to show that this human invention is better than God's law, and to demonstrate to the people of this enlightened nineteenth century, that a device which was

foisted upon the Church in the dark days of Puritanism, and which, like some other Puritan notions, has clung to it with more or less tenacity ever since, is an improvement upon God's own ordinance, established from the beginning and unalterable for all time.

SAMUEL WAGNER.

## HALLUCINATIONS, DELUSIONS, AND INSPIRATIONS.

OUR personal freedom is so sharply distinguished from that apparent necessity which rules in nature, and limits our activity; we are so restricted, even in the exercise of our own free intelligence, by laws which govern our physical organism, that the paradox always presents itself with a startling freshness. Disregarding the first restriction of our freedom, except as it is connected with the second, I propose to approach the problem involved from a somewhat new stand-point. It may be that a consideration of what are called "hallucinations," "delusions," and "fanaticisms," will throw some light upon the obscurity, aided as we are by recent attempts to approach an understanding of our intelligence through an examination of nervous structure and function.

Is the criminal sane or insane? This question is one with the inquiry, has he free and intelligent "control of himself," or, to speak more accurately, of his organism and those powers of his soul directly depending thereon? Twelve

honest men of sound common sense hear what his acquaintances say of him, what "experts," so called, but by a questionable title, think of him, what judges declare to be the law of criminal responsibility, and then render a verdict. Unfortunately, indeed, the law seems to speak in different tones on different occasions, and, consequently, produces a bewildering effect. A judge at Washington in January last declared the legal test of responsibility to be an understanding of the nature of the act and the wrong (legal wrong) of committing it. He said nothing of the free control of the act, seeming to imply that every man who can judge in such a case is also sane enough to govern himself. Another judge in New Jersey, a few days previously, declared the test of responsibility in his state to be not only knowledge, but ordinary power of self-control.

The judge at Washington regarded "partial insanity" or "monomania" as no legal excuse for crime unless the delusion were directly connected with the offence. Dr. Maudsley and other experts think that they find cases of manifestly insane, *i.e.*, not free action, where there is no such connection.

Do civil and criminal law, then, which are based on the freedom of man, differ from the judgments of common sense, of morals, and of science? Is the criminal sane and responsible before the court and the law, and not before the greater bar of mankind, and the higher and unseen tribunal which tries us all? If so, we are badly off.

Unfortunately, the case of Guiteau, which was eminently calculated to elicit a valuable decision upon many of these questions, has been, for various reasons, so managed as to afford little if any aid. It has rather shown the irreconcilable differences between "experts"—if physicians, as such, are entitled to the name, since what Dr. Maudsley and others might name "moral insanity," and a symptom of at least incipient brain-disease, others would call wilful depravity, "*pure cussedness.*"

Difficult questions seem to be answered by asserting that



the brain is a store-house of ideas, "fading sensations" of which nerve-cells are the recipients. Then, if these nerve-centres are diseased, there will be convulsive actions, in one case affecting the muscles, in another producing unnatural sensations, in another distorted "ideas," or emotions. But the explanation raises more difficulties than it appears to solve. For if soul is only a function of man's "nerve-centres," as pure physiology might regard it, and if these work badly in the insane, what becomes of responsibility? It has vanished with the freedom which is its ground. In place of it we substitute liability to punishment by civil or social law, leaving out the essential question whether the punishment was just or unjust. Besides, who, then, is a criminal? Are we not all more or less insane, as an expert testified at Washington? Is a man to be hanged for having "diseased nerve-centres"?\* Assuming, on the other hand, that man is a free intelligence, and therefore justly responsible, but that he is limited and conditioned, both in the materials of knowledge, given through his nerve-centres, and (as a possible hypothesis) *preserved by means of them*, and in the exertion of his free activity,† limited and conditioned by the capacity and the soundness or unsoundness of these nerve-centres, are there any admitted facts of observation or experience which cannot find a fair solution? On the one side are the necessitated sensations proceeding from the organism, and, if my theory be correct, also the necessitated chain of images and resultant emotions, which are like them, in entering the soul through physical impressions following one another in a strictly causal *nexus*; on the other side is the free self, spontaneously attending, discriminating, forming concepts, re-

\* Prof. Bain and his school may found justice itself on civil or social law. But, not disputing the value of these as *criteria* of right and wrong, I start from a radically different assumption.

† I assume that as sensory lobes of the brain are excited by sensuous impressions of light, etc., so this excitement may be communicated to the cerebrum or some portion of it, and there produce a permanent state or liability to excitement, which under suitable conditions will produce in the soul an image of past experience, and an emotion as the result of that image.

flecting, judging, whether speculatively or practically and morally, and freely willing to act or not to act.\*

I. Let us begin with "*hallucinations*," and, in order to get a clearer view, let us limit the word to one definite thing, viz., a mental symptom or result of a disease of that part of the nervous system which has sensation as its product in conscious experience. Thus the optical nerve-cells with their rods and cones are affected by vibrations in ether, and the shock is transmitted to the optical lobes of the brain, and thus becomes the occasion, antecedent, or cause of a sensation of which we are conscious, and which we call color, etc. Ordinarily we are free to attend to it or not, as we will. But let any part of this nerve-apparatus be disordered, its function will be disorderly performed. The conditions of the sensory lobes may be such that we shall have the same sensations as are normally produced by light. These, in this case, we may call spectra or hallucinations. As a temporary disturbance of nerve-centres, most of us have, at one time or other, known something of the kind. We were as free and intelligent with respect to it, as in the case of normal sensations. Its general relations to the mind, power of producing associated images, etc., were similar. I myself remember a period of life when, after a day of anxiety and great mental strain, which of course affected the nerve-centres, I would lie on a library sofa, and hear an orchestra playing. I was free to attend, or distract my mind by substituting other sensations as objects of attention—say by

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\* "The idea of necessity," says Lange in his "History of Materialism," vol. 2, "is inevitably implied in the functions of the brain, and necessity in the psychological sphere is the immediate consequence." But these "phenomena," using the word in the Kantian sense, are known to experience as at once in ourselves and independent of ourselves, for we may be passive spectators of them; while again, in the same experience, I find myself arresting them, examining them, reflecting upon them. What motive, if any, compels me to do so, is not given in experience, and nothing but metaphysics can give it, and consequently "the idea of necessity" has no permissible place in our investigation; it is not "inevitably implied" in my consciousness of the above actions of my free self.

reading a book. Using free intelligence, I frequently tried to judge whether the melody and harmony were reminiscences of previous experience, but I could never recognize them as such. They seemed like original compositions, although their immediate cause was certainly nerve-centres of hearing and not the imagination. Later on in life, these musical hallucinations were replaced by similar ones in vision. Faces rapidly appeared and disappeared before the closed eyes, rarely such as had been seen before. These were not fancy's pictures. I could and did, by the use of the ordinary processes, freely bring up various pictures in fancy, while the hallucination of landscape or face was before me. I have also tried many times to exert some direct influence upon these spectra, but with very unsatisfactory result; although occasionally it seemed that by producing in the usual method an image in the fancy, this image would affect the other; but this was never in a very fixed and determined manner.

These are examples of the ordinary and well known conscious experiences due to a physical disturbance of nervous function. We know these sounds or sights to be unreal, that is, due to no cause outside of the nerve-centres. We can neither produce them by direct effort, nor drive them away. But we freely use our intelligence, discriminating and judging. We hear a voice and look around, and see no one: or we try to touch, and feel nothing. It is an hallucination, and it vanishes. If it were persistent, we would need a special effort to convince ourselves of its unreality.

Suppose now a seated organic disease, extending itself, as usual, from one sensory lobe to another. Then the sufferer will at once see and hear and feel sensations explained by his previous experience, as if they proceeded from similar outward causes. He knows that his experience is not fancy's work. Furthermore this convulsive movement of the nerve-centres may be accompanied by more intense action, with corresponding intensity of sensation. It seems plain that a freely intelligent mind might at last surrender itself,

all its attention\* and its judgment, to this fixed hallucination, accept it as a reality, and even argue rationally and act rationally according to this fictitious premise. And furthermore, if, as is probably the case, the nervous system generally be weakened, with consequent irritability and lack of physical control, the emotions resulting from the hallucination will also show themselves in extravagant ways, as, to take a more normal case, they may in a dream of the fancy. A free and intelligent man, still inwardly such, has largely lost control of the organism which conditions his external life. He is insane, and common sense releases him from responsibility for outward action. He may hear a voice (day and night) saying, "Go and sacrifice the President for the people's good." He may know that the law forbids and will punish. Under overpowering emotion will he not go and do it? And, whatever criminal law with its rough measure may find expedient, common sense and right morals will acquit him.

Just here seems to be the office of the medical "expert." He is no judge of "mental disease," if such there be. But diseases of the brain have, we may suppose, other obscure symptoms, beside the talk of hallucinations, of which latter any one can judge as well as an alienist. The circulation, we may say, is quickened or irregular; there is convulsive twitching showing extension of the disease to motor-centres, or the tongue is coated, thrust out to one side, etc. The speech is confused, hesitating, irregular. The patient also must report the inward conscious experiences of his mind to the physician, who will form an opinion whether there is any "malingering" in the detail of these.

II. *Delusions.* What we see or hear is followed by an image of something else which we have seen or heard, and this by another image, and so on endlessly, until some new sensation involuntarily start a new series, or we by

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\* And this would seem to be in many respects parallel to the familiar condition of a free intelligence restrained by a severe toothache or colic pain due to its poor companion, the body.

voluntary effort arrest some image, or, by putting our organism in the requisite circumstances and conditions, intelligently and voluntarily produce new percepts and direct our attention to these.

Here our freedom comes into sharpest contrast and conflict with a law of necessity, viz., the association of ideas. If we confine ourselves to the purely mental sphere, this conflict of liberty and necessity has something very confusing, if not incompatible and contradictory. No wonder some try to reduce all thought to the law of associated "ideas." But our will, our reason, and our conscience, as commonly understood, whatever makes us free and rational, hold themselves above this association of ideas. Right or wrong, rational or irrational, that stream flows on beyond direct and immediate control. Irresponsible brutes, possessing a cerebrum like ours, may have similar associations. Their actions seem to indicate that they do. But there is something within us which weighs and judges these images, accepts or rejects, approves or condemns. If we accept without reserve the ordinary use of the term mind or soul, we shall doubtless find ourselves involved in great inconsistencies, not to say contradictions. It would seem that Aristotle's psychology, which virtually makes man a tripartite being, would better explain the facts. Thus the sensitive or brute soul animating the brain, acted on by it, and acting on it, will as such be subjected to laws of necessity, and the free reason and conscience, which are the special marks of a man's soul, will govern both parts of the sensitive nature.

So viewing the subject, it will not need much stretching of the scientific imagination, it will be proceeding strictly according to analogy with known facts, to assume that (1) as sense perceptions depend on nerve-centres for their existence in the sensitive soul, so the images of our fancy and memory depend upon similar nerve-centres in the cerebrum.\* (2) The excitement, whatever be its nature, is com-

\* Recent physiological investigations (1876-8), as cited by Foster (p. 647) from Golz and Munk, plainly point to this assumption. The dog

municated from one group of nerve-cells to another. Well-known facts both of health and disease, tend to establish this physical fact.\* (3) Then, as sense-lobes when excited produce sensations of real things or hallucinations, so will these other cells produce images, either of past experience, or purely fantastic creations. Action and reaction will both be found; thoughts in the soul exciting these nerve-centres, they suggesting images. Hallucination in the sense-lobes may excite these other nerve-centres and produce images or "delusions" there; sensory nerve-centres acting on these, and these again acting on those, as when the image of a peach "makes the mouth water."†

Here once more the rational soul is restricted. Our general notions, our concepts, are formed by the free activity of our soul, yet we are limited by the necessity of having an image furnished by this sensitive mechanism, which shall symbolize our thought. If then the physical mechanism is

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whose cerebrum is wholly or partially removed, while acting as a sensitive creature, seeing, hearing, etc., appears to lose memory or the capacity of retaining sensations in the form of "ideas." He is not afraid of a whip, he does not recognize his master, etc.

\* The well-known effects of opium, hasheesh, and alcohol upon the imagination, fancy and memory, undoubtedly point in this direction. So also do the memory and apparent association of images in brutes, which even by Calderwood (p. 281) are referred to nerve-sensibility. So also does the connection between images, action, and language in the case of that brain disturbance called somnambulism, etc., as well as the connection between epilepsy and various forms of insanity.

† Suppose, as Calderwood does (p. 273), that when, through any cause, a man recalls the sensation of sweetness, there is in the brain some consequent movement in the cells related to the fibres from the tongue and palate. If they be the same cells, and the movement is the same as in sensation, we shall have a weakened *sensation*; but this is not an *image* of the taste. It would seem, therefore, that different though related cells (viz., in the cerebrum) would more exactly explain the facts. As an actual sensation is produced by physical action in sense-cells, so physical action of the other sort will probably produce an image.

Again: reversing the process, since excitement is transmitted from cell to cell, a sensation, even a faint one, may produce an image, or an image may produce an hallucination. My own experience clearly points to some, if even a faint influence of one on the other.

Consider, now, the order in the above-cited case of "mouth-watering." There is (1) sight sensation through excited optic lobes; (2) taste-image through excitement of related cells; (3) consequent emotion; (4) action in motor-nerves and consequent physical result.

diseased, incorrect pictures, or the wrong words, or no words at all, will be furnished. And so reason and conscience and will must needs be brought to a stand-still, until the mechanism begins its normal motion, or the soul is released from such restrictions on its exercise, of which latter possibility our science will give us little or no information.

But, notwithstanding, our personal freedom asserts itself. We can indirectly control these phantasms, we can reflect upon them and judge them. We say they are morally right or wrong: if they excite feeling and that produces action, we call these right or wrong; and we judge ourselves to be responsible, though we had no hand in bringing up the image from which the act proceeded; and so do our neighbors, and so does the law.

The fancied idea may be very vivid, and the impression that it makes on our sensibility very intense, so that it will require the greatest effort to drive it away. Suppose a temporary disturbance in these nerve-centres, produced by opium or champagne: words will flow rapidly, images, allusions, analogies discover themselves in countless profusion. Let this disturbance be a fixed disease, functional or organic. Then no effort of ours will drive away the fixed images which the diseased brain is perpetually suggesting. These in the weakened state of the nervous system will also excite more powerfully the feelings, which also are a part of the irrational necessitated soul, and this also will act upon the organism. "The act of vomiting may be induced by the remembrance of some loathsome object—a violent fit of sea-sickness was brought on by the sight of a vessel tossed about at sea, which recalled the former experience of that state. So the hydrophobic paroxysms may be excited by the name of water, etc." ("Carpenter's Physiology," ch. xiii., § 540): *We*, that is the rational, responsible, moral man, at least, may find it impossible to struggle any longer. We may act *rationality*, *i.e.*, rationally with the assumption that these false premises, our own delusions, are true. The de-



lusion that the patient is King of England may be followed by fairly reasonable deductions from it, and there may be also *moral* judgment of one's own actions or of what others do; yet, whatever criminal law may find it expedient to declare, neither common sense nor equitable moral judgment would condemn a man if, under such a delusion, and himself executing an imaginary law, he should, like a Lear, strike down or seek to kill a traitor.

Let us recall what was said about hallucinations, and apply it to "delusions." Uneasy symptoms in the head or elsewhere are commonly under our control. But they may be stronger and govern us. A dream may excite our strongest passions, as was the case with that mother of whom Dr. Maudsley relates that, dreaming the house was on fire, she threw her baby out of the window. A delusion, we suppose, is a dream produced by disease of nerve-centres in the cerebrum, and may excite the same passions. The intellectual idea produces as much emotion as the actual fact would. It may be governed, or, in the weakened state of the general nervous system, shown by fretfulness, "nervousness," etc., the consequence of the delusion may be no more under control than any outward irritation would be.\*

3. *Fanaticism.* How do "inspiration" and fanaticism differ from delusion? Granting that the first has existed, as an actually supernatural influence, the hallucination of the senses (visions, voices), or the image in the fancy (dreams, etc.), may somehow have been known to have a

\* The brute nature itself appears to point to the same connection between the brain and certain emotions. We can set going the chain in a dog's soul which will end in the contemplated result. First comes the sight of an object, then an image, then an emotion, then the desired action. Now suppose a man of sound physical, moral, and intellectual nature, at the age of forty, is sick with disease of such a nature as is known to affect the brain. He becomes as timid as a child of ten years. His reason no more governs his disordered feelings, although he judges himself rationally and morally. An irrational object of fear will produce in another an overpowering emotion of cowardice. So in his case each image or sensation may; so may his "delusion," which is an ungrounded image. Some day perhaps he will commit suicide and be reported as a case of suicidal mania.

supernatural origin and a moral meaning, which clearly distinguished them from the bare products of an excited brain

Or again, a man's natural power may be simply exalted and intensified, as in what we call poetical genius. I do not mean the half-insane ravings of a drunken or diseased fancy, such as, *e.g.*, may have been the origin of Coleridge's "Kubla Khan." Such would come under the previous categories. But reason, will, conscience, as well as sense, fancy, and emotion, may act more energetically and more promptly than usual. He is more, not less, a man; he better knows and feels the right; in every true sense of the word he is more master of himself; he is more, rather than less, responsible. This is the inspiration of Dante, Shakespeare, Milton; with all the difference which is due to the supernatural, this may have been the inspiration of Isaiah, David, and S. John.

But fanaticism, though often based on delusions, or hallucinations,\* may be distinguished as emotional judgment, *i.e.*, unsound judgments formed under the influence of excited feelings. Delusions may produce these; but they may exist without delusions. Considering the manifestations of brute soul, and observing the effects of both percepts and images in producing emotions in the soul, it becomes evident that disease of the cells of the cerebrum will produce abnormal manifestations of emotion—an "emotional insanity"—but as a physical disease it will probably show itself sooner or later in other symptoms. But this, also, is not fanaticism. In order to distinguish it, let us take the most favorable view of a case like Guiteau's. He did not pretend to have any hallucination or delusion; he neither saw a vision, nor heard a voice. Like a fanatic he spoke of his "inspiration." A person of erratic ways of thinking and acting, of quick but weak and shallow intelligence, is fed with grossly perverted religious ideas, which

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\* S. Paul would have been a fanatic, if he had not been a clear-headed and zealous Christian; in other words, if his visions had been merely products of a heated brain.

excite his fancy and inflame his vanity. He thinks himself a special favorite of the Most High. He applies to himself language addressed to prophets, or spoken by prophets. He has no brain disease; he can clearly think and judge. He knows the consequences of actions, and their moral character according to some criterion, true or false. What aids his party he judges to be right; what hinders it, wrong. The end sanctifies the means. This fanatic is just such a person, perhaps, as Carlyle describes Edward Irving in his later years; such a person becomes intensely excited in party strife. He raves about it. He is (rationally) convinced that it would be good for the people if the political enemy were put out of the way; then, that this would be a "special providence;" then, that it is possible that God may have chosen him to be the instrument employed; then, and finally, after much praying and brooding over the idea (fanatically), that God has actually chosen him. This we may call fanaticism, not delusion. Mahomet may be an example of it, if we reject the medical theory of his epilepsy, which would begin his career with a physical disease, as we here begin it with a mental state. The latter, it is true, may also produce the former or a certain nervous state which will further stimulate the fancy and the feelings, and which will thus reach and aggravate the fanaticism. Cromwell, possibly, and certainly some of his followers, as well as some of the early "Quakers," shaking under nervous tremors, were examples of this sort. It was *religious* fanaticism which led Ravaillac for a religious purpose, and, as he believed, under Divine guidance, to "remove" Henry IV., the enemy of the defenders of the faith, the house of Hapsburg. In our day such fanaticism is likely to take purely political forms.

Here is a *voluntary abnegation of freedom without foresight of the consequences*. Considering a single act of the fanatic, we may hardly be able to say that it is any more free than the act of a drunkard or maniac. But he has voluntarily dwelt upon a single idea or principle, however it

may have come to him—by reading, hearing, or his own speculations—until it occupies his whole attention. Then he must act accordingly. We cannot impute to him deliberate forethought in the ordinary sense of the word. Murder is not with “malice prepense,” for he has a strong conviction of his obligation to do certain things. He is “inspired,” *e.g.*, to go out into the streets naked and preach against the world’s vanities, or to call his friends to arms against the government which is putting down his polygamous “religion,” or to set up the Kingdom of Christ by destroying all evil governments, or to destroy a tyranny by assassinating a President. I call him a fanatic, not insane. He has used his reason and judgment under the misguidance of his opinions, wishes, feelings, unaffected by any disease of the brain. He has a clear judgment of right and wrong, although his criterion is peculiar to his sect. Thoroughly in earnest, the conclusions which he deduces from his principles are overpowering. They work upon his feelings as they ought to do. He foresees consequences, and accepts them. He must act, though the heavens fall and the earth be wrapped in flame. To others he may seem like a drunken man or a madman. The indifferent say as to S. Paul, “You are beside yourself,” although he act with extraordinary shrewdness and judgment. Like John Brown, he holds his life not worth a grain of sand in comparison with the work which he has to do.\*

*Is a fanatic responsible?* The question may mean, (1) answerable to the law; (2) to God, or to the moral judgment

\* “Experts,” so-called, have failed to show us how they would distinguish such fanatics from the insane, unless other symptoms of brain disease are found. If these are so found, then, of course, we will accept the testimony of experts to a physical fact which involves a *delusion*. But their testimony will be that the physical condition of the brain is accompanied by certain obscure sensations which, under the law of association, are followed by certain persistent images (delusions); or else that the same physical condition in the cerebrum directly produces in the soul these same images with their consequent emotions. It is commonly said that the “will is weakened” in such cases. If by “will” we understand the rational self-governing soul, we might more truly say that the *influence* of will over the brain and organism is weakened, as in using opium or alcohol.

of mankind. Judge Cox very clearly pointed out, not long since, that when a man premeditates, forms plans, selects means and opportunities, the *law* must hold him responsible. Some "alienists" assert that some insane people do all these, and consequently these may be no criteria of responsibility.

We may as well confess that human laws are at best very rude devices to preserve society, though they cannot be dispensed with; and yet we may conceive of cases in which, after the law has condemned, a wise executive may fitly step in with mercy and pardon. Be that as it may, our fanatic is one who has voluntarily formed his opinions, and adopted his beliefs with judgment and deliberation. Once formed, they may rouse his worst passions, and they may make him "beside himself." Society then must and will hold him responsible for his opinions and their consequences. His friends will say that "he is insane on that subject," meaning probably that he loses all self-control, that his passions carry him away; but law and morality both hold him responsible, and God alone can judge what allowance is due to a feeble intellect, to misguiding education, and the like. Society would fall to pieces if human law attempted such nice discriminations. But a delusion would have originated in his brain, while the fanatic voluntarily (whether intentionally or unintentionally matters not) brings his brain into a certain irremediable condition, and he is as answerable as if he had made himself drunk in order to kill his victim without feeling hesitation or compunction.

Guiteau, who, if not a fanatic, is certainly a clever imitator of one, well describes the fanatical process—the hesitation, the inward debate, the prayer for light, the conviction and the going to work. An incipient delusion also might confuse a man in like manner, but it would be something forcing itself upon him, the result of a diseased brain, and not the spontaneous and logical deduction from his own beliefs and opinions. In both cases there may be said to be the same lack of self-control. But as a free person, originally at least, the fanatic has made himself answerable for what he is; society so judges and believes that God will so

judge. He is responsible *for adopting* the *overmastering* idea, and for its consequences; the *necessity* of those consequences does not detract from the responsibility. And he freely accepts it, saying, "I must obey God rather than man; here I stand; I can do no otherwise." Human laws cannot absolve him although the Divine Judge may. And here is the very touch-stone of his sincerity. He *knows* the consequences and accepts them. This is no proof that he has the truth; but it is the best possible proof that he *believes* he has it and takes the responsibility. If courts acquitted him he could have no such proof; but society would fall to pieces before earnest convictions.

Whether "inspired" men who have not yet broken any law should ever be shut up in an insane asylum to prevent their doing mischief, I do not inquire. Some of our physicians, unquestionably, would report them as afflicted with "reasoning mania." But no moralist, no court of law, will acquit them if a false "idea" has taken possession of the mind. It has been allowed to do so; and human judgments cannot take into consideration the extenuating circumstances of education, ill-governed passions, and the like. But a fanatic may also have voluntarily produced a true "*delusion*," a brain disease. It was his duty to attend to other things, and to control his passions, however difficult the task. And if he were sane he could have done it. He did not foresee all the consequences of his abuse of soul, and, perhaps, of body also, but he voluntarily incurred a certain physical disease; and whatever moral allowance be made for his ignorance and weakness, is he not responsible for all its consequences?

Perhaps when Hadfield fired at the King of England, thinking it his duty to offer his life for others, and this the surest way to do so, or when Martin set fire to York Cathedral, because he had a Divine commandment to do it, they were both in this condition. It is true that they were acquitted, yet we do not acquit all who have an uncontrollable impulse, for any habitual liar or thief may have produced one in himself, and be "morally insane," since his actions may lack an adequate (rational) motive.

It will be well then to bear in mind that the free soul can and does affect the brain; and inspirations voluntarily received and dwelt upon, like any other absorbing ideas working upon the feelings, may, when nerves are already weak, produce a settled brain disease, so that any alienist will find signs of insanity, and may, as Dr. Maudsley does, assume the previous state of things to be "incipient insanity," regarding as cause what we have taken for effect, and vice versa.\*

Generally the "inspired" man will be judged "partially insane," for he will only partially govern himself by his inspiration. Like Guiteau he will show himself shrewd enough in managing his own affairs; he will resist certain motives, as sympathy for his victim's family or fear of consequences; like the rest of us he will be conscious of his motives, and he will choose among different plans. If one believes that his prayer will make men live forever, he is a harmless fanatic, and not a candidate for an insane asylum. If he believes that arsenic with prayer is one of the means, he will not be therefore insane: he will be responsible, though it may be expedient to lock him up.

The conclusion which I derive from this general view of the normal and abnormal actions of the involuntary and irrational elements of our soul, which limit and condition our personal freedom as nature does, is that psychology needs to draw a sharper line between these two parts of our conscious experience. Whatever metaphysics may offer us, the empirical science of the soul leaves us with a practical dualism from which we cannot escape.

JOHN J. ELMENDORF.

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\* Dr. M. (p. 75) examines a dissipated wretch arrested for forgery or bank robbery, and finds symptoms of brain disease, and declares the crimes to be products of the insanity. Suppose we say that the insanity is a product of the dissipated life. The doctor fails to point out one fact which will not equally warrant our inference. In fact, such is his order of events. (1) "Moral insanity," (2) intellectual insanity, (3) dementia, entire "loss of mind;" all which is remarkably like the ordinary process of sensual vice, (1) ungoverned sensual passions, (2) mental delusion, (3) true insanity, dementia.



## NESTORIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA.

THERE is a certain halo of romance which, despite their heresy, always surrounds the Nestorians. Their rise, however long beforehand events may have been preparing for it, was so sudden to outward appearances, and their severance from the Church was so speedily and so surely effected, that the very briefness of these transactions gives a dramatic force to the conflict between them and the Catholics which is not often observed in theological warfare. Then, too, the characters of the two leaders stand out in so striking and peculiar an outline as to awaken an exceptional interest. In the earlier struggle of the Church to thrust out Arianism, the character of the Catholic leader Athanasius is such as to challenge the respect and admiration of every one, while the heresiarch Arius is without our sympathy from the outset, and we contemplate with contempt his want of honesty and devious methods. In Cyril and Nestorius, upon the contrary, the conditions are changed. Cold and reserved in his bearing, Nestorius was accused even of haughtiness by his enemies, yet there can be no question

as to his uprightness and integrity of character. He was thoroughly straightforward, and permitted his questioned belief to be made known in the full light of day. Of Cyril, the less said, the better. Thoroughly bad and unscrupulous, he has been well described as "a man whose name is a stench in ecclesiastical history." The after-events of Nestorianism have given it a luster wanting to most of the heretical bodies which split off from the Church in the early ages. The usual history of these has been either gradually to die out and thus in the course of years to cease cumbering the earth with their unprofitable existence; or else, shutting themselves in from the rest of the world, they have at last fossilized in their intellectual and spiritual stagnation. Not so with Nestorianism. The new Church throve from the outset, and in its early stages numbered among its adherents minds of the highest order. It cherished learning, and in its midst sprung up flourishing schools. It realized, as have many modern sects, the missionary character of Christianity, and spreading its borders, it soon embraced the Persian Empire, and then grew onward towards the East, until on Pacific shores thousands "from the land of Sinim" were led through it to rejoice in Christ their Saviour. Then followed its gradual extinction in more remote regions, and it was confined to the Chaldean country, where despite Mahometan persecutions it still survives. The language of its Bible and of its literature, moreover, is that which of all others is nearest the tongue spoken by our Lord, and the Syrian Christians even claim, although erroneously, that their Syriac New Testament is derived from the Apostles themselves. All these circumstances combine to place the Nestorian Church in a unique position, and throw about it that aspect of romance alluded to above.

At the close of the Council of Ephesus, the entire Syrian Church was near a separation from the body of the Catholics. This catastrophe was happily averted, although large numbers of Christians who held Nestorian views were sundered from the Church. The famous school of

Edessa, which was presided over by the celebrated Presbyter Ibas, was closed by the direction of Rabulas, Bishop of Edessa, one of Cyril's adherents; but upon his decease, the school again revived. Meanwhile the controversy between Theodoret and Cyril continued until the latter died. The writings of Theodoret were translated by Ibas into Syriac, and a tractate in favor of the views which they advocated was addressed by him to Maris, Bishop of Haddashir in Syria. This tractate has been regarded by the Nestorians much as if it were a confession of faith. Nestorian views were propagated in Persia by Thomas Barsumas, Bishop of Nisibis. When the school of Edessa was again closed in A.D. 489, its students and teachers took refuge in Persia, where they established the renowned school of Nisibis. In A.D. 498, at the Council of Seleucia the Church of Persia separated entirely from the Catholic Church of the Roman Empire. The Nestorians assumed the name of Chaldean Christians, and their Patriarch was called Yazelich (ναζολικός). The Christians in Persia had suffered severe persecutions before this date. The cause, for these lay chiefly in the political relations existing between Persia and the Roman Empire. Any belief entering Persia from the latter direction was liable to excite suspicion and hostility. So, upon the contrary, the Persian government was disposed to regard with favor the Nestorians who fled from oppression in the Roman Empire. Under these circumstances the Persian Church was easily led into Nestorianism, and into separation from the Catholic Church. From the date of this rupture, it enjoyed rest and tranquillity for many centuries, which even the Saracen conquest of Persia in A.D. 651 did not terminate. The opportunity for learned labors and missionary activity with this prolonged quiet insured, was not neglected. The schools at Edessa, Nisibis, Seleucia, etc., were exceedingly prosperous. Only fragments of the wide range of literature which issued from these seats of learning have reached us as preserved in the work of Assemanus. Ebed-Jesus, Metropolitan of Nisibis (ob.

A.D. 1318), is the most renowned of later Nestorian writers. His works cover all the various departments of theology. The caliph rulers of Persia, far from treating the Nestorians with severity, regarded them with kindness, and considered Nestorianism as a rational form of Christianity which in its opposition to the idea of a "Mother of God," and to the worship of saints, images and relics, and to priestly celibacy, appeared to have some points in sympathy with Mahometanism. In return for the benefit of toleration which they thus exercised, the Saracens were repaid by receiving instruction from the Persian and Syrian Nestorians, and the Armenian Monophysites in the classics, philosophy and medicine. The Nestorians were also earnest in the propagation of Christianity. They penetrated India, and bore the Gospel among the Tartar tribes of Central Asia. Tidings of the conversion of a Tartar prince called Prester John were announced, and both Marco Polo and Corvino have transmitted the traditions of his existence in Central Asia; yet it is not possible to decide either the exact locality of his rule or the extent of his influence. By far the most interesting mission of the Nestorians was among the Chinese.

It is not certain when the Gospel was first proclaimed in China. There was a Syriac tradition that S. Thomas traveled eastward and made known Christianity in India and China. Although this does not rest upon a historical basis, it nevertheless appears to be established beyond reasonable doubt that the Gospel was preached as far East as China soon after the Apostolic age. The Christian efforts in India, and among the Seres (Chinese), Persians and Medes, are reported by Arnobius A.D. 300. Two centuries and a half later, two monks who had lived a long time in China came to Constantinople bringing the eggs of the silkworm. There are, however, no traces in Chinese literature of these early efforts. The date of the arrival of the Nestorian missionaries is uncertain, but it is regarded as not later than A.D. 505. Ebed-Jesus states that "Salibazacha the Catholic, *i.e.*, Nestorian Patriarch, created the metropolitan sees of

Sina and Samarcand, though some say they were constituted by Achæus and Silas." Silas was the Nestorian Catholic from A.D. 505 to 520. It is also believed that the two monks bearing the silkworm's eggs to Constantinople were Nestorians. In a list of bishops subject to the Catholic Church published by Amro, the Metropolitan of Sina is included, being placed after that of India, as next according to priority of foundation. The only vestige of the Nestorian mission in China as yet discovered in the Chinese language is the inscription on a remarkable monument which was found in A.D. 1625 at Si-ngan fu, the provincial capital of Shen-si, which city was also in ancient times, and again at the epoch of the Tang dynasty, the metropolis and capital of the nation. This long inscription gives a résumé of the rudiments of the Christian religion, and an account of its diffusion throughout the realm during the sway of the Tang dynasty. Perhaps no time could have been more favorable for the introduction of Christianity into China. The early part of the period was one of the most eventful epochs of Chinese history. The country had long been afflicted by inefficient rulers, when finally, in A.D. 618, Kung-Ti, the last of the Sui, the Fifteenth dynasty of China, resigned in favor of Li-Yuen, a descendant of the house of Liang, called the Prince of Tang. With him began the celebrated line of Tang princes who governed the country for two hundred and eighty-seven years. At that time, when the shadows of the dark ages were already falling upon Europe, there is little doubt that China was the most highly civilized country in the world. When the House of Tang was firmly established on the throne, the capital was moved back to Si-ngan fu from Loh-yang, whither it had been transferred during the rule of the celebrated Han dynasty. Great and successful efforts were made to restore quiet and peace to the distracted land, and then, after a reign of nine years, Li-Yuen, becoming unequal to the cares of government, abdicated in favor of his son Li Chimin, who assumed the title of Tai-tsung.

Tai-sung was one of the most illustrious sovereigns who have ever reigned in China, and has been compared not unfavorably with Akbar, the great Kang-hi, Charlemagne and Haroun Alraschid. During his early manhood he showed indications of his strong character by the assistance he gave his father in setting aside the ignoble family of Sui and extending his authority in Central Asia. Upon his own accession, these conquests were pressed still further. He brought under his sway the Turkish tribes west of Kansuh and south of the Tien Shan (Celestial Mountains) as far as the Caspian Sea. Over these he established four residences, Kuché, Khoten, Harashar and Kashgar, which bear the same titles to-day. The tribes west of Kashgar were partially subdued and placed under sixteen governments, over which was one governor-general, local rule being left in the hands of the natives. The Hindu-kush also submitted to his rule. From Nipal and Magadha in India came ambassadors with greetings to the emperor from their rulers. The Chinese frontiers reached as far as Persia, and the nation thus came into contact with the western world, and an envoy bearing presents of rubies and emeralds was despatched to Si-ngan fu by Theodosius the Great in A.D. 643. The Persians also sent a similar embassy. It was during this reign that the Nestorians sent the mission to China which met with special success. The outward conditions of the realm were thus particularly favorable to such a mission then entering the country on account of the contact with Persia into which China then came. But the internal state of the nation was scarcely less propitious for the mission's growth among the people, and for its continued prosperity. The Nestorians began their labors under a remarkably enlightened sovereign. Tai-sung initiated his rule by the foundation of schools, and the establishment of the system of competitive literary examinations for admission to official life which has continued in existence until the present day and is still in force in China. He directed that a full and accurate edition of all the classics should be prepared by the

most learned men of the empire, and honored the memory of Confucius with special reverence. A code of laws was arranged for the guidance of high mandarins in the administration of justice. The emperor traveled through his dominion with a view to becoming personally acquainted with the condition of his people, that he might promote their amelioration so far as he was able. Hence it is easy to understand how auspicious were also the internal affairs of China in this reign for the promulgation of such a religion as Christianity.

For our knowledge of the progress made by the Nestorians we are almost wholly indebted to the remarkable monumental inscription alluded to above.\* The inscription begins with the title,

“A TABLET [COMMEMORATING] THE DIFFUSION OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS RELIGION OF TA-TSIN [OR JUDÆA] IN CHINA.”

Much of its description of Christianity can be best appreciated by quoting some of its quaint expressions. It tells how the “unchangeably true and recondite, the eternal Cause of causes, the far-seeing and purely spiritual, the never-ending and incomprehensible Being \* \* \* is our mysterious Trinity, the true eternal Lord Jehovah!” Then it proceeds to describe how He “moved the primeval Spirit, and produced all things visible and invisible,” and states that when the Sun and Moon were started upon their course, and day and night had begun, and when finally the creation of the universe was completed, God then made man. The original perfection of man’s nature is depicted, and after this follows a brief mention of how through Satan’s dissimulation evil and darkness were substituted for man’s former equity and greatness. Upon the fall of man

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\* A translation of this inscription was made into English many years ago, and published with the original and a French and a Latin version in parallel columns. The English version is quoted entire in Dr. Williams’ “Middle Kingdom,” Vol. II. p. 291. The latter book may be regarded almost as a thesaurus of information upon China.



arose a multiplicity of "sects." These, by following each one some special form of evil, at last reduced mankind to a condition of anguish and darkness. Seeing men in this agonizing state the "Trinity set apart the illustrious and adorable Messiah ; Who, laying aside His true dignity, came into the world as man. Angels proclaimed the joyful tidings. A virgin gave birth to the Holy Child in Judea. A bright star proclaimed the happy event. Persians, seeing its brightness, came with presents. He fulfilled the ancient laws given by the twenty-four holy ones [writers of the books of the Old Testament—Eng. Tr.]. He ruled families and nations with great virtue. He instituted the new doctrine of the Trinity, pure, spiritual and inexplicable." Details of the benefits conferred by means of Christ's work next follow. After His labors were completed, He ascended again to His "true estate. Twenty-seven books remained. He set forth original conversion for the soul's deliverance ; and He instituted the Baptism of Water and of the Spirit, to wash away the vanity of life, and to cleanse and purify [the heart]." It seems strange that while the sacrament of Baptism is thus plainly noticed, the inscription should contain no allusion to the Holy Communion. The further account of the purpose and life of Christians is so tersely expressed that we quote in full the words of the inscription.

"Taking the cross as a sign, [His disciples] unite together the people of all regions without distinction. They beat the woods, sounding out the voice of benevolence and mercy. In evangelizing the East, they take the way of life and glory. They preserve their beard for outward effect. They shave the crown of the head, to indicate the absence of passion. They keep no slaves, but place upon an equality the high and low. They do not hoard goods and riches, but bestow them on the destitute. They practice abstinence in order to increase their knowledge. They watch, in order to maintain quiet and circumspection. Seven times a day they offer praises to the great advantage both of the living and the dead. Once in seven days they have divine service, in order to cleanse their hearts, and to regain their purity.

"The true and constant doctrine is mysterious, and diffi-

cult to be characterized. Anxious to make it clear and manifest we can only name it the ILLUSTRIOUS INSTRUCTION. Now, without holy ones religion cannot be propagated; nor without religion can holy ones become great. But when the two are united, the whole world will be civilized and enlightened."

This completes the account of the religion propagated by the Nestorians. Next follows the narrative of their labors and successes from which we learn the following facts. During the reign of Tai-tsung, in A.D. 636, a man of high character, named Olopun, arrived at Chang-ngan in China. He had set out from Judæa, and on his journey eastwards he followed the clouds, and brought with him the Holy Scriptures. Olopun's approach having been made known in the palace, the emperor appointed the Duke Tang Hien-ling to meet the stranger in the western suburbs of the city, and from there to conduct him to the imperial residence. Olopun received a most kindly welcome. The emperor took pains to learn the nature of the teaching which he had come to proclaim, and with this end in view had Olopun make translations of the Scriptures for his inspection, granting him full opportunities for this purpose in the palace-library. The missionary was also admitted to interviews with the monarch in his private apartments. There is no evidence of Tai-tsung's having embraced Christianity, although it is certain that he was well disposed towards it. We have seen how anxious he always showed himself for the amelioration of his people, and the account of Christianity which has just been given from the inscription shows that it was presented by the Nestorians in the aspect of a beneficent system intended to elevate men. It would therefore commend itself to a ruler like Tai-tsung if only from political considerations, and he would naturally regard its diffusion among his people with favor. Their aspirations after political power have always been a stumbling-block in the way of Romish missionaries who came later to the East. Into this snare the Nestorians did not fall, and the Chinese rulers saw

in them only allies in the work of elevating and purifying the natives. Tai-tsung gave the matter three years of careful consideration, having for his guidance the translations of Olopun and the oral statements in their interviews. At the end of this time he had become convinced of its sincerity and truth, and issued the following edict, bearing the date of August A.D. 639:

*"Religion is without an invariable name. Saints are without any permanent body. In whatever region they are, they give instruction, and privately succor the living multitudes. Olopun, a man of great virtue, belonging to the kingdom of Judæa, bringing the Scriptures and images from afar, has come and presented them at our capital. On examining the meaning of his instruction, it is found to be pure, mysterious and separate from the world. On observing its origin, it is seen to have been instituted as that which is essential to mankind. Its language is simple, its reasonings are attractive, and to the human race it is beneficial. As is right, let it be promulgated throughout the empire. Let the appropriate Board build a Judean Church in the Righteous and Holy street of the capital, and appoint thereto twenty-one priests."*

Christianity apparently flourished through the entire reign of the most excellent Tai-tsung, who at his death was deeply lamented by the whole population. It is stated that the foreign envoys at the Chinese court showed their grief by cutting off their hair, and some of them even bled themselves, and sprinkled the blood around the monarch's bier. Tai-tsung was succeeded by his son Kao-tsung, who made a feeble ruler, and allowed the reins of government to slip from his control into the hands of his empress, Wu-hao. Yet even during this period the Nestorians enjoyed prosperity and state favor. Kao-tsung honored the memory of his ancestors, and cherished "the truth they inculcated," in which Nestorianism must be included, for churches are said to have been erected by him in all departments of the empire, and the "true doctrine was clearly preached." The writer of the inscription describes almost in one breath the

prosperity of the State and of the Church. Olopun was made high-priest and national protector. The law was everywhere received, and unlimited wealth blessed the State. The cities contained numerous churches, and the families of the Chinese nation abounded in all that could advance their comfort and happiness. One or two clouds, however, passed over the face of this fortunate concurrence of circumstances. In A.D. 699 a persecution was excited by the Buddhists, and fourteen years afterwards some of the literary class stirred up slanderous accounts of the Christian faith. But these were successfully resisted by the "chief priests," Lo-han, Tai-teh and Lieh, who were honorable descendants of the early missionaries. The emperor Hieun-tsung ruled in China about A.D. 722. Nestorianism still prospered, and was held in such respect by the State that five princes were commanded by the emperor to assist in repairing the Church of Felicity. In the beginning of Tien-pao's reign, A.D. 742, the monarch instructed his general, Kao-lih-sz, to hang in the church portraits of the first five emperors of the Tang dynasty. These were executed in the best style of which Chinese art was at that day capable. A short time afterwards, in the same reign, a distinguished priest, Kih-hoh, arrived from Judæa. Upon his arrival, seven priests, among whom were Lo-han, Pu-lun and Kih-hoh, were summoned by imperial edict to celebrate a gorgeous service in the church of the Rising Felicity. Tien-pao also conferred many gifts upon the Nestorians. The next emperor, Suh-tsung, increased the original benefits granted the Christians, and rebuilt numbers of their churches. His secretary, Duke Kwoh-tsz-i, was indefatigable in his efforts to elevate the people. Although a chamberlain of the emperor, he also held a high military command, and is described as "the tooth and nail of the palace, and the ears and eyes of the army." The Christians, however, enjoyed his special favor, and one would find it difficult to believe that he was not a convert himself. He had the churches repaired and beautifully adorned. He emulated the Christian leaders in dis-

tributing alms. Every year he caused the young clergy to assemble for fifty days and exercised them in the services. He fed the hungry, clothed the destitute, cured the sick, and provided the dead with a decent burial. A second emperor named Tai-tsung next mounted the throne. He continued the beneficent rule of his predecessors, and the Nestorians were the recipients of his bounty. His successor, Kien-chung, is described as a man of the highest character, and both Church and State flourished under his sway. In his reign another eminent priest, Isaac, came to the Middle Kingdom, and was received at the Chinese court. His learning was said to surpass that of any one known to the Chinese in the celebrated three earliest Dynasties of Hia, Shang and Chao.

The monument from which the above narrative has been gathered was erected in Kien-chung's second year, A.D. 781. He was the ninth emperor of the Tang dynasty, which still lasted one hundred and twenty-six years. The monument was set up by command of the emperor. While it is stated to be difficult to define Christianity, the Word and the Three-One theoretically, the determination is expressed to commemorate at least what Christianity has practically accomplished. With the close of the inscription ends all native record of the Chinese Nestorians. In A.D. 780, Subchal-Jesus was sent by Timothy, a Nestorian Patriarch, to Tartary and China, and labored there for many years. He was succeeded by Davidis, who was consecrated metropolitan. We also learn that two Arabian travelers speak of many Christians perishing at the siege of Canfu. The emperor Wu-tsung in A.D. 845 issued an edict commanding all Nestorian priests to retire to private life. Their number was 3,000, which shows that the Church must have taken deep root among the Chinese. But apart from this brief mention, a long silence attends the history of these disciples of Christ in China. During the declining years of the Tang dynasty, weak and effeminate sovereigns succeeded those who had so gloriously established its rule, and it is not un-

likely that those benefits which the Nestorians at first received were then largely discontinued, as is indicated by the act of Wu-tsung. The next intelligence of them is derived through Marco Polo, who traveled in Eastern Asia in the reign of Kublai khan, the founder of the Mongol Yuen Dynasty. During the period of the conquests of Gengis-khan and his descendants, the Nestorians underwent great sufferings in common with their other Chinese brethren. The empire was finally subjugated by Kublai, who established the Mongol rule over China in A.D. 1280. During the eighty-nine years which this dynasty lasted, the Nestorians with difficulty still maintained a foothold in China. In this period, however, they were somewhat interfered with by Mahometan missionaries, while the Romish priests who then entered China also added to their difficulties. Assistance from the Mother Church in Mesopotamia and communication with it were, moreover, almost wholly cut off. Marco Polo's mention of them leads to the impression that they were "both numerous and respected, as well as long established." He speaks of nearly all the towns and countries of Central Asia containing them. In A.D. 1369, the Mongol princes were driven out of China by natives under the leadership of Chu Yuen-chang, who then mounted the throne as the first sovereign of the Ming Dynasty. From this time the Nestorians in China made no further efforts to proselyte the natives, and they gradually disappeared so entirely that to-day the empire contains no trace of them save the monument from which we have drawn the account of their early efforts.

The rise of Gengis khan, who terminated the rule of the Caliphs in Persia, marks the decline of the Nestorian Church. Its missionary efforts were then curtailed, although it struggled to continue them until the conquests of Tamerlane shut it up among the mountains and valleys of the province of Kurdistan. There, subjected to occasional Mahometan persecution, it has transmitted its faith from father to son, and there the sect still exists at the present day.

Among the most interesting glimpses which we obtain of their present condition is the account of the visit of Sir Henry Layard, contained in his "Nineveh and Babylon." A very good insight into their life is also found in Dr. Rufus Anderson's account of the labors of the Congregational missionaries among them, although a Churchman is unable to read these narratives without a sense of deep regret that the efforts made were not from such a source as would cherish and foster their existing Church organization, still continued upon the Catholic model, and that these efforts were not such as could rest content with imparting to them an increase of spiritual life. Surely a Church which has suffered in persecutions, and toiled in missionary labors so greatly as the Nestorian,—a Church which is so sympathetic with our own Communion in its freedom from Romish errors, and the practically idolatrous worship of images introduced into the whole Catholic Church by the Seventh Council,—surely such a Church is worthy of any help which we may be capable of affording it. When we consider its unselfish propagation of a far purer form of Christianity than that boasted by many Christian sects to-day, we may well rest assured that the many myriads won from pagan darkness by its labors will in the last great day justly claim that the talent committed to this Church was not laid by in a napkin. And among them all, none will rise more gladly to pronounce it blessed than the thousands of Nestorian Christians "from the land of Sinim."

DANIEL M. BATES.



## A CHURCH COLLEGE.

WHY cannot the Protestant Episcopal Church maintain one really successful college in these United States of America?

Probably many a complaisant alumnus, and perhaps one or two of our hard-working faculties of colleges, will be, at first, at a loss whether to be more surprised at the effrontery or the unwisdom of my inquisitiveness.

But hundreds of our more ambitious and energetic collegemen who live and work in this generation and not among the *laudatores temporis acti*, and who realize the power a Church college might exert, and who have waited long to know when they are to stop apologizing for our struggling educational institutions of the highest order, will, at least, like to have an answer to the question attempted. All true educators will not refuse further education on such a subject, and many a conscientious trustee will not be ungrateful for every possible solution of the yet unsolved problem.

If some comfortable college don shakes his gory locks and threatens to break with his precious balms somebody's head,

then with a terror of "the Faculty," which occasionally, as the undergraduates say, must have a victim, I cry out, as I offer myself, as the devoted Greek did who loved his country no better than some of us do our colleges, "*πατήσσον μὲν ἄκουσον δέ.*"

The time has come, after over a half-century of waiting, to ask and answer the proposed question.

Our Church is now strong enough to bear, aye, to demand the whole truth. If it did no harm but, on the contrary, much good to discuss without fear or favor, in the Church Congress held at Providence last autumn, whether our theological seminaries were doing their whole duty, then, if no more can be accomplished than to fearlessly draw the fire of those who so admirably stay by the stuff as if waiting for rescue, no great harm can result.

Glance, then, first at the history of our distinctively Church colleges for the past fifty years.

We may begin with Columbia, although the noble and unsurpassed array of scholarly men who compose its board of trustees and faculties may object to being ranked among the distinctively Church colleges; still, if it does not belong to the Protestant Episcopal Church, then it might be difficult to tell to what ecclesiastical connection it does lay claim. It would not like to be represented as having no decided religious affinities, or as being neutral on the question as to whether the Church, in some shape, has anything to do with collegiate education.

Of the original board of trustees, in 1751, seven of the ten were members of the Church of England, and some of these were vestrymen of Trinity Church. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Rector of Trinity Church were enrolled among the governors when the charter was obtained in 1754, and the land which the college occupied for more than a century, and which now helps to make it, probably, the most richly endowed college in the country, was granted by Trinity Church on the 13th of May, 1755. By the terms of the charter the president of the college must

be a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church ; and yet, by a liberality of sentiment which, doubtless, has contributed not a little to its present prosperity, it allows "any religious denomination or any person or persons to endow a professorship and forever have the right of nominating a professor (subject to the approbation of the Board of Trustees)." We may therefore claim that the preponderance of religious or churchly bias at the chapel service where selections from the Book of Common Prayer are used, and so far as any religious education is given, is, at least, in harmony with the aims and sympathies of the body of Christians who founded it and endowed it, and who have so long graced its various presidential and professorial chairs.

To-day it has a president, thirty-eight professors, eighty-five instructors, assistants and others and fifteen hundred students in all its departments. Well, now, is this pre-eminent success owing to too much or too little Episcopacy ? or have the wise managers of this very influential seat of learning discovered just the proportions of the religious or churchly elements with which to combine the educational demands of the present generation, and formed a resultant mixture that is so taking and attractive ? If so, then, as one of our famous wits declared when he heard of a certain beverage which greatly stimulated one of his irresistible generals, "I would like to know what brand this beverage or mixture bears, that its use may be commended to the whole army." If Episcopacy hurts a college, let us know it; if too much churchliness is mistaken for sectarianism, if a successful college would be more successful with more positive or less pronounced views and teachings, then it ought no longer to remain a secret. Unquestionably common-sense and "men who have understanding of the times" have had no slight influence in lifting "Columbia" to its commanding position.

Churchmen of common-sense (and not all are burdened with it), men of "Issachar," who know a thing or two, if no more, of what the present generation needs, may be good

Episcopalians or churchmen, and yet not be always telling of it except by their unusual reticence, and hard work, and foresight, and mastery over such fundamentals in all college growth as are "real estate," and the progress of the age, and the wants of the American mind, and the things new as well as old which the well-educated scribe has got to offer among his treasures or else be relegated to the limbo of fossiliferous remains.

Why, we actually read, in the rules of the faculty of wise "Columbia," this regulation, which no college we know of has the courage or the wisdom to try, and which will obviously lengthen the lives of our devoted college professors, and squelch, as water squelches fire, nine tenths of all student irregularities. Read it! "*Excuses for absence from college exercises will not be required or received.*" Now, any one who knows anything of the mischief wrought on the nerves and sensibilities of a college professor wearied with the labors of the recitation-room, who is compelled to sit hours at a faculty meeting discussing the frivolous or trumped-up excuses which would drive a Minos or Rhadamanthus into the Styx, will admire this bit of Solomonic wisdom. No more loss of self-respect either on the part of the ingenious inventor of excuses or the puzzled disciplinarian; no more "inability to hear the bell because the bell-rope made so much noise;" no more premiums on lying, or pseudology, offered by petifogging tutor, nor small and belittling cross-questioning as to the student's motives; no more class-combinations for wholesale disorder. The simple question, in recitation-room and out of it, is, "Did you do your duty? Yes or no? *Excuses not required or received!*"

If "Columbia" has not had enough of aggressive Protestantism or of outspoken Episcopacy to help it, it certainly has always highly honored those features of that old Church which protest not *against* error so much as *for* the pure truth. If, therefore, this noble institution of learning may not fully answer the question as to the success of a distinctively Protestant Episcopal college by pointing to its various

prosperous schools and related departments, still no friend of sound religion and true learning can fail to recognize its power in the past and its assured glories in the future. Undoubtedly its varied experience of one hundred and thirty years gives it advantage over the most of our Church colleges which have not attained more than one third of its age; its metropolitical situation, too, has enabled it to treat the vital question of the religious element in a liberal education as almost no other college can, for a metropolis is itself a university and a city of churches, and the student living at home in most cases gets his religious training at home.

Notwithstanding the greatly increased temptations of great cities to young men, compelling many to prefer a smaller and less exposed college, the accruing advantages of the metropolis of a great country can hardly be overestimated. As John Henry Newman writes in his "Historical Sketches:"

"The metropolis itself becomes a sort of necessary university, whether we will or no. As the chief city is the seat of the court, of high society, of politics, and of law, so as a matter of course is it the seat of letters also; and at this time, for a long term of years, London and Paris are in fact and in operation universities, though in Paris its famous university is no more, and in London a university scarcely exists except as a board of administration. The newspapers, magazines, reviews, journals and periodicals of all kinds, the publishing trade, the libraries, museums and academies there found, the learned and scientific societies, necessarily invest it with the functions of a university; and that atmosphere of intellect which in a former age hung over Oxford or Bologna or Salamanca has, with the change of times, moved away to the center of civil government. Thither come up youths from all parts of the country, the students of law, medicine and the fine arts, and the *employés* and *attachés* of literature. . . . You cannot have the best of every kind everywhere; you must go to some great city or emporium for it. There you have all the choicest productions of nature and art all together, which you find each in its own separate place elsewhere. All the riches of the land and of the earth are carried up thither; there are the best markets, and there the best workmen. It is the center of trade, the supreme court of fashion, the umpire of rival

talents, and the standard of things rare and precious. It is the place for seeing galleries of first-rate pictures, and for hearing wonderful voices and performers of transcendent skill. It is the place for great preachers, great orators, great nobles, great statesmen. In the nature of things greatness and unity go together; excellence implies a center. And such, for the third or fourth time, is a university."

And such, to an unavoidable extent, is New York City and its inclosed colleges.

Questions, therefore, which institutions of learning in smaller cities and towns must ask, and must answer, as to the relative importance of the religious and secular elements which enter into a liberal education, are answered by her unique environment.

Intimate union with some one of the great ecclesiastical bodies is not one of her present essentials. Columbia only, of all colleges in partial or entire connection with our Church, may, with any approximation to safety or to completeness of educational results, ignore or treat as of secondary importance its positive churchly connections.

We must therefore travel further in order to get much historical assistance to our problem as to why Protestant Episcopal colleges, as such, fail, thus far, to compete for numbers, even in their own Church, with those of the other denominations of Christians which surround them. Let us go boldly, and as brothers and friends may, to the most pronounced, and positive, and emphatic and fearless Church college that we are proud to call our own. Let us go to Racine, the devoted DeKoven's monument, that churchman of churchmen, who consecrated his life to the cause of Christian education, and who succeeded in that most difficult of enterprises which those who lay foundation-stones must undertake. After Columbus had shown how to set the egg on end every tyro could do it, and so after one man has shown that there is no true education for our youth which leaves out the education of the soul in the old paths, many, we confidently trust, will, in the future, not hesitate to follow, and lead the coming millions in the great West. Dr. DeKoven

placed the chapel in the centre of the quadrangle at Racine, as if he would teach all lookers-on what the heart of a true college should be. *Vigat radiæ* he chose for the college motto.

Recognizing the difficulties of building up a college for the Church he loved, in this country, he wisely gave his chief attention to the establishment of a Church school which should insure ultimate support and numbers for the coming college. Who can now say that this is not the only way in which a college can be built up on lasting foundations in this country? We shall see. To-day, after only twenty-eight years of hard work (and a generation counts but little in the life of a college), there is at Racine, under the devoted management and love of the Rev. Stevens Parker, S.T.D., and his faithful corps of sixteen professors and masters, one of the best boy's schools in this or in any country. All it asks is time, and it will hand in its answer to our college conundrum not yet guessed even in Yankee-land.

Hobart College, named after its founder in 1826, has for over half a century maintained itself between the two stools of a progressive and progressing West and the prescriptive and strongly intrenched rights of the school-house, if not the college-home, of the whole country which the East asserts itself to be, *in posse* if not *in esse*. Fifty years ago Hobart College, doubtless, appeared to be the best located of all the newer colleges which originated in the decade from 1820 to 1830. Right nobly has this hopeful seat of learning struggled with insufficient endowment, until now it offers to the loyal churchmen of the half dozen growing cities which surround it not mere intellectual culture, no, not the one-sided development which the elective courses in some of our more ambitious institutions advertise, but such a course of study and religious training as once were recognized, and as will again be recognized, as the only constituents of an education worthy the name liberal. True, Hobart has to-day but eleven Freshmen. Rare fellows they must be, else why do they not leave and follow the crowd after



some more popular teacher or some more *ad captandum* methods of training? Those faithful Freshmen and their predecessors now in the upper classes must know, and their parents or guardians must know, what all churchmen do not know, that numbers are no proof of a college's worth; that to have every facility for acquiring "all knowledge" does not insure that *character* without which all education is more likely to be harmful than helpful.

As Bishop Otey said in his sermon preached before the General Convention at Richmond in 1859, and which I quoted in a pamphlet on our "Schools and Colleges" in 1866, and which ought to be occasionally reprinted for the benefit of an apathetic if not culpably indifferent Church: "Show me," this prince of bishops argues (p. 9), "the sequence which is claimed to exist between intellectual wealth and moral purity. Take a boy and teach him the truths of mathematical science: will you thus make him abhor fraud and falsehood? Teach him natural philosophy, and will you thereby extinguish selfishness and malice, or infuse purity of thought and modesty of demeanor? Teach him the abstractions of moral science, and will you thereby impart the will-power to perform moral duties? Surely not. But now try a different process. Let him be removed from the contact of every irreligious impulse and association. Let him be environed, as much as possible, by 'whatsoever things are pure, just, true, honest, lovely and of good report,' [*Quere:* Could such an environment be found in any of our crowded colleges where "cram" is the word not only numerically but intellectually?] but carry a young man (and if led aright, he will go) to the Word of God," concludes the bishop, "for a standard of morals, perfect, unalterable and eternal; send him to the Throne of Grace, and thither let the teacher repair *with* him and *for* him, and what result may you then rationally anticipate? Instead of the antagonist principle of intelligence and vice mingling to make the compound more offensive, you infuse the religious principle, and everything gross is neutralized and precipitated, everything

noxious is expelled, and the character acquires a permanent purity and transparency."

One thought more in this connection from no less wise an authority than Cardinal Wiseman. "Religion is the great focal point around which the moral world revolves, the all-embracing medium in which everything moves, increases and lessens; the last refuge of thought, the binding link between the visible and invisible, the revealed and discoverable; the resolution of all anomalies, the determination of all problems in outward nature and in the inward soul, the fixing and steadying element in every science, the blank and object of every meditation."

Well, now, some day before long, such views of what constitutes an education of man's tripartite nature of body, mind and soul will conquer in these great States and cities of our Union, and then Hobart College and all other institutions of learning founded on the same deathless principles will, like the Divine Master whom they serve, see of the travail of their souls and be satisfied.

Many brave men had to suffer and die before the riddle of the sphinx of fable could be solved: Even so, before "that animal which goes on four feet, then on two, and then on three" can be fitted out with wings which shall enable him, by a complete and well-rounded education, to approach all perfections,—before this grand *finale* of educational science is attained, many a devoted college president and professor must be worn out. Brothers! "let patience have her perfect work." "*Morituri nos salutemus. Vita lux hominum,*" is the immortal motto of Hobart.

If a surprisingly attractive catalogue with pictures of worthies who have been its alumni, and with substantial buildings contrasted with the log-hut of dear old Bishop Chase and his wife, can tell their own story, then verily "Kenyon" is hard after winning the palm as the successful Protestant Episcopal college in this year of grace 1882. It is a new departure in the catalogue line, at any rate, and reaps the harvest, if any there be, from all the pictorial ad-

vertisements of the various colleges which have appeared during the last few years in the monthly magazines. Why not? If you have a good thing to show, why hide it in a dingy tract in this pictorially disposed generation? And Kenyon has treasures and attractions which would make the mother of the Gracchi envious, and which will put this pet of Bishop Chase's at the head of all our Protestant Episcopal colleges if somebody doesn't wake up and go and do something. Old-fogyism, and that don't-care-a-tive-ness which allows his Satanic Majesty to take the hindermost, is not going to build or endow any more colleges in our college-burdened country. For see what poor little Kenyon, as we supposed she was, has done, in so quiet a way that the Church was hardly conscious of her existence.

Send for a catalogue of the current year and read for yourself, O most honorable and comfortable Trustee, and most highly esteemed because indulgent and popular teacher, if any such exist. Notice that her alumni-roll proves to even the hardest-headed of trustees (and one in a thousand perhaps of our college trustees has an adamant—well, conservatism) that *quality* is better than *quantity* in college arithmetics. To have graduated such men, if Kenyon had done no more, since its foundation in 1827, as Chief-Justice Waite, Edwin M. Stanton, President Hayes, Stanley Matthews, is honor enough. If any teacher or alumnus is ever tempted to despair of his *alma mater*, let him read how Bishop Chase located his college in well-nigh untrodden forests, crossed the Atlantic against the remonstrances of gentle Bishop White and the opposition of the Bishop of New York, and, without money enough to pay his postage, addressed the legislature at Columbus, and won every time. With such an invincible spirit as this moving in its history "death is abolished." If any exhausted or ambitious treasurer of a college would learn how to raise funds, let him read and imbue himself with the wisdom the old treasurer of Kenyon set forth in his pamphlet entitled "The Star in the West, or Kenyon College in the Year of our Lord 1828."

To be sure, *tempora mutantur*, but the spirit which never knows when it is beaten remains the same, and waits for a few treasurers who now possess almost every good quality except such inspiration. There is money enough this side of the ocean to-day; all that is necessary is a treasurer who will go after it and get it.

If any one is on the lookout for a president for a college, (and, here and there, several are looking out for college-presidencies), read in this unique and really wonderful catalogue how the Lord made a president when He made "P. Chase, P. M., Gambier, Ohio;" how he worked a farm of a thousand acres, and a diocese as extended as a European country, and a college in which education was offered at seventy dollars a year.

He did not call for the police when a countryman accosted him as "General." "I am not General," he curtly replied. "I beg pardon; I mean Judge." "I am not Judge either." "Well, then, Bishop." "Why do you call me Bishop? How do you know that I am Bishop?" "Well, I knowed," said the man of homespun sense, "that whatever you was, you was at the *top*." Maybe this college-prex could not give the paradigm of a Greek verb; perhaps he used to omit occasionally to dot an *i*, or to put the proper oxytone accent on the right syllable,—dreadful possibility!—but when a student called on him he neither incontinently and disgracefully coddled him, no, nor locked his door and, retiring to the innermost recesses of his *sanctum sanctorum*, refused to see him. Bishop McIlvaine, one of the presidents of Kenyon, actually dared to say, in spite of the popular tendency to follow the college with the largest numbers, "*A few young men well educated are worth a host superficially taught.*" How many trustees would uphold a president who should act on such a sound principle to-day? Not many.

No wonder, in view of all this, and from the further consideration that it costs only \$204 per annum for all expenses,—no wonder that the present Freshman class is the largest entered for many years. President Eliot of Harvard, in

his late annual report, gives "four scales of expenditure for students at Harvard." He gives \$615 as an "economical," \$830 as a "moderate," \$1365 as an "ample" annual expenditure. This is two or three times greater than at Kenyon.

"In these days of rich insolvencies," (says a writer in one of our religious papers,) "and respectable defalcations, and pious embezzlements, real Christian character is to be more and more at a premium." It is worth more than any measure of mental endowment; worth more as a personal possession; worth more as an outward influence; worth more even as a mercantile capital. In too many of our colleges Christianity is almost overlooked, and in too many others it is so presented that it does not attract the best natures nor do the best work. It is so presented to young men that they think of it as a blind belief in a system of doctrines which have little or no relation, logically, to a good life. "It ought to be so presented," says this writer, and few disagree with him in Kenyon, "that they will think of it as an intelligent, loving obedience to a system of truth which has the closest logical connection with a good life. Christianity is an adequate cause for the production of all that is strongest and truest and bravest and most manly." It ought to be so presented. It is and will be so presented at Kenyon, and hence we, lovers of the best education, hail with unusual delight its well-won prosperity.

Last but far from least in everything that ought to contribute to the establishment of the pre-eminent Church college of America, we come to "Trinity." The writer of this paper, having spent eighteen years of his life, as student and professor, under its shelter, will have to guard himself from manifesting an undue partiality for his *alma mater*. Her troubles only serve to knit the heart more closely to her fate. The power for good she has been in the first half-century of her existence; the leaders of men, the bishops, the governors, the lawyers, the presbyters who have sat at her feet; the principles for whose support Trinity was founded and for whose extension she has contended; her unsurpassed loca-

tion in the heart of New England ; the architectural beauty and perfections of her projected quadrangles, and library, and cabinet, and chapel overlooking and conserving all ; her princely endowment of real estate, just augmented \$175,000, —if all these considerations and associations are not enough to command a son's devotion, then he must be hard indeed to please.

Bishop Seabury could hardly have realized the outcome of his design for a Church college in Connecticut ; and Bishop Brownell, with all his sagacity, builded better than he knew when, in 1823, the charter of the college was finally secured by his perseverance and zeal.

Such rare men as Wheaton and Totten and Williams (our own dear Bishop and "of the whole Church") and Goodwin and Eliot, have been her presidents, such professors as Doane and Potter, afterward bishops, and Jarvis and Hawks, "whose praise is in all the churches," and others still living, have adorned her chairs and, by their devotion, have raised her ideal of excellence so high that it may be one reason why so many lovers of Trinity are half disposed to deny her success. "Trinity" has done well, but she has got to do better, they insist. The large numbers of sons of churchmen at our larger colleges argue that the right kind of a Church college would prosper. Her competitors, "Amherst," "Williams," "Harvard," "Yale," thrust greatness upon her as it would appear, "if not as a University, then as a distinctively Church college."

"Velut inter ignes  
Luna minores,"

"A secondary position to even such noble rivals will not satisfy our ambition or our love." We must do as well as others. "Aut Cæsar, aut nullus," in our own field. Well, now, such objectors and lovers of "Trinity" are the very men we are looking after to aid in answering the question proposed at the beginning of this paper. For the chief reason why we churchmen have not one college that is worthy of the principles, and the prestige, and the present pros-

perity, and the future hopes of our beloved Church is this: so few of our alumni care enough about it to attend its Commencement exercises, or speak a good word for its claims, or to patronize or favor it in any way whatsoever. Even the clergy fail to realize that "Trinity" or some Church college ought to be one of their chief responsibilities. These are grave charges, but every one knows how close to the truth they are. When the Church comes to be first and the college second and some Greek-letter society third in the students' or graduates' regard, a new day will dawn for our college of the future. The great want of our colleges is that the 350,000 communicants and the half million attached friends of our Church in this country should be loyal enough and catholic enough to recognize the fact that the college is a part, and a precious part, of each one's property, of which he must take care, and for whose stewardship he must give account, and of which he is either proud or ashamed.

Our undergraduates, as well as our college alumni, little dream of the fact that these colleges are not collections of buildings or of libraries or of endowments or of faculties only, but colleges or congregations of young men who can make or mar the Church we love. The student builds or kills his college. Each lesson learned is a help; each lesson "skinned" or cribbed is a blow at our *alma mater*—truisms that need emphasizing, as every college-man knows.

The Oxford or the Cambridge of America will appear just as soon as, and not before, the young men discover that their respective colleges belong to them and not exclusively to a sleepy board of trustees or to a worn-out or easy-going faculty. Let "Yale" and "Harvard" discuss "elective studies" and experiment upon the European or American systems of discipline and study, the one leaving every student to his own self-control largely, and the other regarding each professor *in loco parentis*; the university we are waiting for will appear as soon as our boards of trustees discover that they are too much like oligarchies in their self-elective,



exclusive powers, and that they must share their immense responsibilities with their faculties and their alumni, or prepare for the tomb of the Capulets. *Tempora mutantur et nos in illis non mutamur*. A college cannot be carried on in the year of grace 1882 as it was in 1825, or in 1850, or as it will be in 1900 A.D. The various "schools" and scientific departments that have been gradually growing up around our more successful institutions are evidence of an increasing want. Then, the college with an endowment of half a million cannot compete a great while with one whose available assets are counted by millions and ever rolling up.

Our very wealthy laymen (and we have a great many of them) know well that even an ordinary cotton-mill, or insurance company, or any great commercial enterprise cannot be carried on without a correspondingly great investment of funds. A one-horse mill or college can compete only with one-horse mills or colleges. But when one reflects on the demand for first-class teachers, and the salaries of from \$3000 to \$5000 which they can get, and which they richly deserve, it will be easy to see that a college of only ten professors needs a large investment only to open its doors. Add to this the cost of the various astronomical, scientific and mathematical instruments which every college requires, and the wonder will cease as to why we Protestant Episcopalians have so few if any really successful colleges. The Church is experimenting on some of them, or has been, as the farmer, by experiment, tried unsuccessfully to keep his horse on one straw *per diem*. Suffering has too long been the badge of all our college tribe.

Other bodies of Christians are not so thoughtless. Only last year five new professors or instructors, and many additional optional studies of high grade, and lectures on Art, and History of Logic, and Sanscrit, were added to the already princely Princeton. Several donations of \$100,000 were received, and large additions of scientific apparatus; the library was increased 9500 volumes while \$16,500 was paid for a geological collection, and another Fellowship was es-

tablished. It is obvious that the best facilities for education will attract our best men. Is therefore our Church to educate only second or third class young men, or lazy because rich loafers? President Carter of Williams, during a recent visit in New York and Brooklyn, received nearly \$100,000 from the college alumni for two new dormitories for that college. Every one knows that in all corporations the management and direction is usually left to or assumed by two or three of the more energetic or ambitious, who are not always the wisest. It is so in banking, in joint-stock corporations, in parishes, and, alas! in colleges. The college of the future, therefore, will not appear until more of our trustees refuse to be led by a few, while the majority give no attention to its needs except on one day in each year, and who then are overruled by short-sighted but eager talkers who think that all trustees should agree with old King Lear when he said,

" 'Tis our fast intent

To shake all cares and business from our age,  
Conferring them on younger strength, while we  
Unburthened crawl towards death."

Of course we want young blood and young life. No one doubts it. Give it all it can stagger under, but never allow "Young America" to bury the old counselors or rob them of sympathy by shelving them before their time. The college of the twentieth century, if not of the nineteenth, wants young men no less, but old men more.

The faculty ought to have a very loud voice in all boards of trustees, or else the faculty are not fit for their places. If they don't know what the college requires, who can, or who does? And the students themselves ought to have a great deal more of the duty and responsibility of the college discipline than our trustees and faculties dare trust to them. The surprising success of "self-government in our colleges" as described in the *International Review* will scare, while it will convert, some of our faculties and trustees who have probably never heard of it. In the "Illinois State

University" and in "Amherst" the students are obliged to take an oar and row, if not steer, the boat.

"Ten years ago" (we quote from an editorial in one of our most widely circulated and responsible papers) "two years after the foundation of the university, the president proposed to the students to undertake the work of governing themselves, and they readily and unanimously accepted the responsibility. A constitution was adopted, in conference with the president, which, as subsequently amended, provides for a senate of the students to make college laws, and a court of the students for the trial of college offenses. The president retains an absolute veto power; and the faculty have, as a matter of course, under the laws of the State a real and supreme authority, though they do not exercise it. The senate is elected by the students by universal suffrage; the judges are appointed by the president, but from the students. All laws for the internal government of the college community are made by the senate; all violations of these laws are tried by the court. A senate-chamber and court-room is provided by the faculty. The experiment has now been on trial for ten years, and has been a decided success. It has apparently almost wholly relieved the faculty of the irksome work of discipline; and it has proved to be quite as efficient in preserving good order in the college as the old system.

"Amherst College has, during the last year, introduced an innovation quite as radical, and analogous in spirit though very different in form. The students on entering are asked to examine the rules of the college and to decide for themselves whether they accept and will obey them. It is explained that their acceptance of these rules is the condition of their admission, that they constitute a contract between the student and the faculty, and that the violation of that contract at any time by the student gives to the faculty the option of declaring the contract broken and the relation between the students and the college ended. There is no expulsion; the student may continue to attend the classes, but will not be called on to recite; he may go to any other college, and Amherst will interpose no objection to his reception. A simultaneous change was introduced in the administration of the recitation-rooms. No student is *required* to attend any recitation; no excuse is asked and none is taken for absences. If he is present and shows

his proficiency by his recitations he proceeds with his class ; if he is absent, or if he fails to recite satisfactorily, he is required to prove his acquaintance with the subject by passing an examination at the end of the term, before he can go on. In other words, he must show that he has mastered the subject ; the college is indifferent whether he proves his mastery by his recitations or by an examination. This plan also has worked well. Some modifications in detail may be required ; but it is certain that any proposition to go back to the old school-boy method would receive a decided negative from an overwhelming majority of both students and instructors.

"These experiments are in method very different, but they both tend toward the introduction of self-government in college life. They are not inconsistent, and might be advantageously combined. Certain it is that they are indications of the direction which college faculties must take in the near future. To-day full half of the students in our best colleges are voters. They help to make the laws by which the colleges are themselves controlled. The State declares them to be men ; it is worse than absurd for the college to continue to treat them as boys. The American method of solving the perplexing problem of government is self-government. This method assumes that all men of full age and sane mind are, if not able to take care of themselves, at least better able than their neighbors are to take care of them. A large proportion of the difficulties which make life in the American college so often turbulent grow out of the violation of this American principle of political science. The principle is one of universal application. The negro may not be able to take care of himself ; but he will suffer less from his own incompetence than he did suffer of old from the selfishness of the white race. The Indian may not be fitted for self-government ; but he could hardly do worse for himself than the Indian Bureau has done for him. The Irishman is often pronounced unfit for self-government ; but on the whole he makes a better figure in taking care of himself in the United States than the English aristocracy make in taking care of him in Ireland. If the liberty and responsibility of self-government were thrown upon the students in our colleges, doubtless they would make many blunders ; but it is doubtful whether the blunders would be greater or more numerous than those which the average faculty makes in treating them as school-boys. And even

the blunders which collegians will make in learning the art of self-government will be worth more than they cost; for they will teach them how to avoid the same blunders when they get into the life of full-grown citizenship. The college that teaches her students most effectually the art of self-government is the one most valuable to the country; and that college will teach self-government most effectually which devolves most completely on its students the duty of self-government, and therefore trains them the most thoroughly in the exercise of that difficult art."

Once relieve our hard-working presidents and professors from the exhausting wear and tear of faculty-meetings for the discipline of that wildest of "Wahoos" which a lazy but capable student can be, and you add incalculably to their efficiency.

The age in which we live, and in which our immediate successors in this prosperous land are going to live, wants a college in which the sons of rich men can be made to study, "will-they, nill-they," and the trustees and faculty who first have the courage to supply this want will succeed soonest. Even the rich and lazy student (and there have been such) will honor the teacher and the college who make every lesson a duty to parents and to self and to God, while no young man honors a college in which the minimum of work will secure a sheepskin. He despises it and runs down the faculty, and ought to do so or forfeit his moral sense. The college that goes for *numbers* rather than conscientious work ought to fail. "Woe unto you, O time-serving professor! when all the students, indiscriminately, speak well of you, the lazy, the wealthy, the good-for-nothing sons of parents who pamper and finally fear their ruined and long-indulged offspring." There is one cure for it all. Treat all like *men* and none like *pensioners* or *patrons*, fearlessly, independently, kindly, firmly. Thus your college will overflow with the best sons of the best men.

An immense deal is going to depend on the president of the great American Church college of the nearing century. He is not to be a doctrinaire, nor a toady, nor a narrow,

technical, hypercritical D.D., or "Dreadful Dull," of one or perhaps two specialties. What did old Dr. Eliphalet Nott know about the intricacies of Latin subjunctives and Greek accentuation; and what did he *not* know about *men* and *things*? The president of the coming college is to be a man of affairs, a man who lives in this age of telegraphs and telephones, and not in the age of stage-coaches and one-horse shays. He has got to manage not only the finances and the curriculum of the college, but especial attention must be given by him to the social life of the student.

As little sectarianism as there is in any of our Episcopal colleges, still they are regarded and treated as being genuinely sectarian. Hence rarely does a consistent member of any body of Christians patronize one of our colleges, while a large per cent of the students in Yale and Harvard are sons of churchmen. The use of our Book of Common Prayer is, probably, the only reason that can be given for this prevailing delusion. We admit that it is dangerous for a thoughtful young man to habitually use this book if he seeks not truth but "the law or sect which he professeth," and not otherwise.

And this brings us to the last and chief attraction of the college of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States, which is to build it, fill it, consecrate it, immortalize it. That attraction is simply and always, next to conscientious intellectual culture, RELIGION. A college which dares, as so many now so prosperous do, to ignore, or treat as a secondary consideration, or leave to parents and guardians the continuous education of the soul, as well as of the mind and body, cannot forever compete with one in which the tripartite nature of a young man is recognized. To educate the body is to shape a mere athlete. To educate the intellect only is to manufacture one who may vie with some Belial or Lucifer in mischief; but to educate body, mind and soul, this alone makes character, and *character* is what we are after in business, in professional life, in church, in state, everywhere. "Pro ecclesia et patria" may be its motto, if it live up to it; but if its students and professors do not

love the chapel services, if they hate the regular Sunday sermon or other religious instruction, if, in short, ingenuity worthy of the conferring of degrees by him who is president in pandemonium, exhausts itself in studying how to reduce the love of recitation-room and of chapel to a positive dislike,—if such masterful ingenuity is to prevail, then the foundations of the college some of us are looking for have not yet been laid.

A vision of a college of noble youth who are enthusiastic in the pursuit of a complete and well-rounded education of body, mind and soul may well conclude these yearning lucubrations.

Like that eagle which blind Milton saw "mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam," so this long-awaited-for institution of learning, after moulting many a worn-out tradition and many a musty precedent, shall wake to a consciousness of its powers in training immortal spirits "to the measure of the stature of the fulness" of the Son of Mary, who was Son of God.

Students who deserve the name will crowd its extensive quadrangles and libraries and halls. Faculties of every department of human and divine learning will vie in shaping

"that noblest work of God,

An honest man."

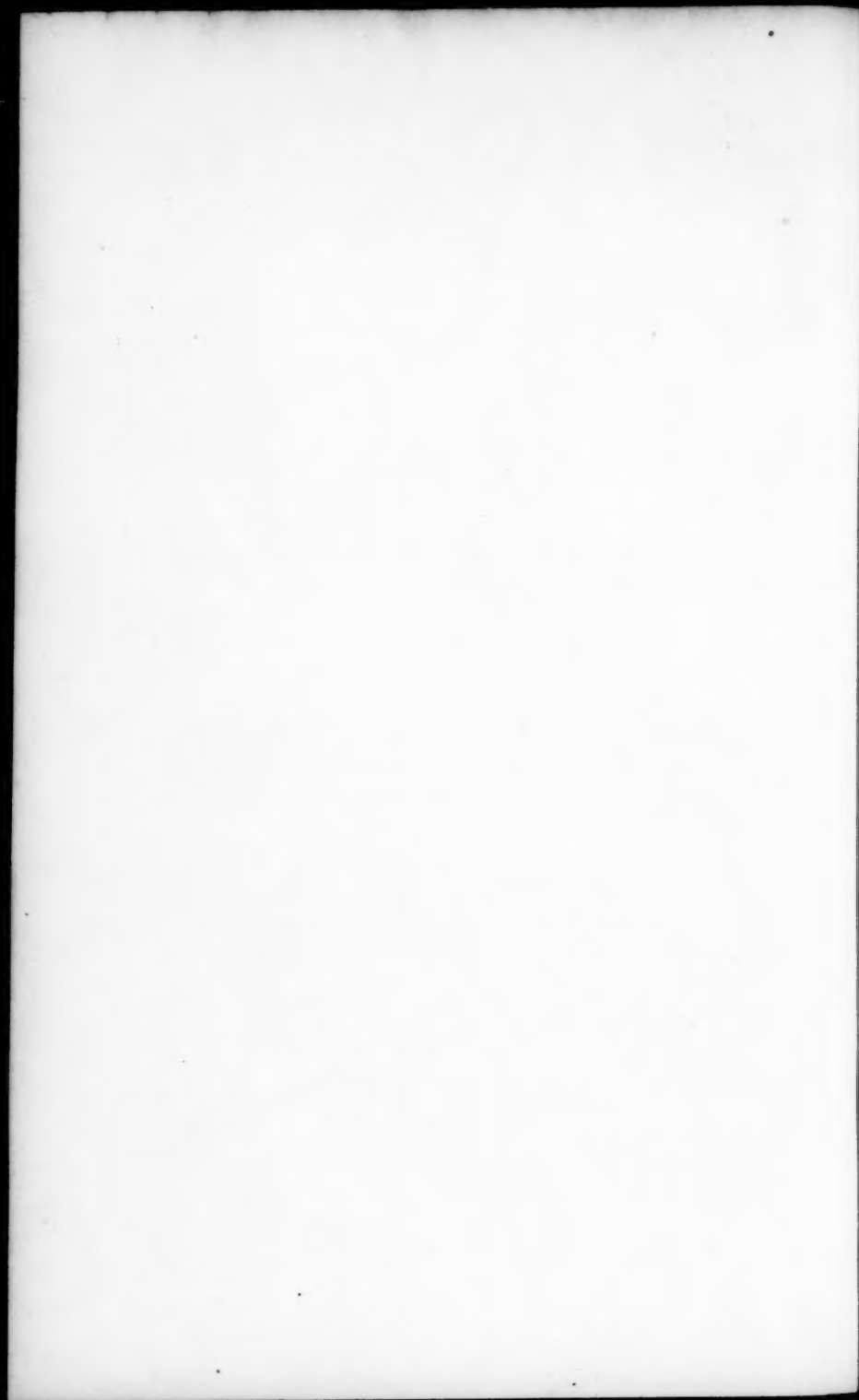
Music, art, science, religion, are its golden quadrivium. Men of wealth will regard it as their highest honor to keep its treasury overflowing. Every clergyman will regard it as his chief responsibility and delight.

Rising above all in height and grandeur, as if conserving and directing all, the college chapel, surmounted by its cross, stands supreme. *Voluntarily*, its services are thronged every day. Holy songs, holy prayers, holy Scripture, tell, to delighted lovers of the truth, of the gate of heaven to which all tend.

It is the college of the Church we love, in the country we are proud to call "our own."

JOHN T. HUNTINGTON.





### III.

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT AND THE STRUGGLES OF THE REFORMATION IN SWEDEN.

FROM the Diet of Westeras may be dated the establishment of the Reformation in Sweden. But its progress during the reign of Gustavus was slow, and in that of Eric it was arrested and temporarily paralyzed.

##### *I. Decrees of the Diet of Westeras.*

The demands or propositions of the king, according to the custom of the Swedish Diets, were not voted upon by a body as a whole, but were answered by each class for itself. Accordingly there was not the same cordial acquiescence in all the answers that were rendered; and the king could judge by the tone of the reply how far he could rely upon the loyalty and support of the class by which it was given. The Bishops gave a forced submission to the decrees; but after this period they were no longer summoned to the Diet. The decree of the Diet contained, 1. A mutual engagement to resist all attempts at rebellion. 2. A grant of power to the king to take in his own hands the castles and

strongholds of the Bishops; to fix their revenues and those of the canons and prebends; to levy fines and to regulate monasteries. 3. Authority was given to the nobles to resume the lands which had been conveyed to churches and monasteries since the inquest of Charles Canutson, if they could substantiate their claims before a court, and by a verdict of a jury. 4. Liberty was assured to the preachers "to proclaim the pure Word of God," "but not," the barons added, "uncertain miracles, human inventions and fables."

We can see in the answer of the burghers and peasants concerning the faith their lingering misgiving and indisposition to give to it an emphatic assent. They declare that inquiry should be made into it, but that the matter passed their understanding. The Bishops declared "that they were content, however rich or poor his grace would have them to be." In the supplement of the statute called "The Ordinance of Westeras" the Bishops are authorized to fill up the vacant benefices, but if they should appoint murderers, drunkards, or such as should be unable to preach God's Word, that they might be displaced and others of the king's appointment substituted. It was provided that fines for fornication should be paid to the king and not to the Bishops. No fines shall be inflicted for working on saints' days. The Bishops were to render to the king an account of the revenues, that he might settle what portion they would be permitted to retain. The clergy should be amenable in secular affairs, to the civil jurisdiction. The property of the deceased clergy should fall to their lawful heirs, and not to the Bishops. Mendicant friars should be permitted to leave their convents to beg only for five weeks in the summer, and five in the winter. The sick should not be forced by the priests to make a will. The clergy should not withhold the Sacrament at Easter, or any other time, for the debts due to themselves. And, finally, the Gospel should be taught to the children in all the schools.

It is clear that if Gustavus had not just won a victory over his foes, and been tacitly admitted, even by them, as

necessary to preserve the State from anarchy and intestine war, he could not have acquired such mastery over the Diet as that which induced them or forced them to pass this sweeping and radical decree. The particulars enumerated in the decree exhibit at once the degraded condition of the clergy, the enormous power and possessions of the Bishops, and their rapacious robbery of the rights and possessions of the people. They lived in fortified castles as feudal lords. They rode forth from them on episcopal progresses and visitations, attended by hundreds of military body-guards. Under the control of the Bishop of Linköping there were more than six hundred benefices and estates; under the Bishop of Åbo more than four hundred, and under the Archbishop almost as many as both of them combined. Never was a poor and small kingdom so oppressed and impoverished by a grasping and lordly hierarchy. That, while the great body of the people had not yet accepted the reformed faith, nor emancipated their minds from absolute and abject submission to the clergy, Gustavus should have been able to pass and enforce these decrees, without exciting a revolution, demonstrates the imperial ascendancy of his character, by the blended skill and courage with which he overcame the manifold difficulties of his position.

## *II. The King's Treatment of the Bishops and Monasteries.*

When all these provisions had been confirmed, the king immediately turned to the Bishops and demanded first from the Bishop of Strengnäs the Castle of Tilsälsö, which the latter declared himself ready to surrender. The same answer was returned by the Bishop of Skara to the demand of the Castle of Leckö. But when the king came to Bishop Brask and demanded his castle, "silence and sighs," says Geijer, "were the only reply." Thure Johnson begged for his old friend that the castle might be spared him during his lifetime, but the king answered shortly, "No." Eight lords of the council were obliged on the spot to become

sureties for the Bishop's obedience. Forty men of his body-guard were taken from him, and enrolled in the king's army. At the same time the king sent commissioners to the principal churches and monasteries of Sweden to take account of their endowments, revenues and possessions. Bishop Brask succeeded, by a seeming submission, in freeing himself from the securities which he was obliged to give; and on the pretense of going on a sort of missionary expedition to the island of Gothland, he escaped to Poland, and made his way to Rome, where he died. He was the most eminent man, next to Gustavus, of that generation in Sweden; and it is by no means certain that the king did not know and rejoice in his intended expatriation. Whether the indignation which he expressed at the Bishop's escape was feigned or real, it gave him an opportunity to say to him some things which were all the more cutting because they were true. He wrote to him "that formerly good men were reluctant to take the Episcopal office, but when once they had entered on it they would willingly die for it, and would not be separated from their sheep until driven from them. It is not so with you, but you have done quite the contrary. You pressed into the office, and without necessity or compulsion have fled from it. As long as the case was such that you could milk, shear and slay the flock, you were right at hand; but when the Word of God came and said that you should feed the flock of Christ, and not shear and slay them, then you fled." (Anjou: Reform in Sweden, p. 242.)

There was an article in the Ordinance of Westeras which provided for the maintenance of the *existing* members of the religious houses "that they might praise and serve God." In the mood of mind of Gustavus towards all the papal clergy, and especially towards the monks, it was scarcely to be expected that this provision should be very strictly observed. The States assembled at Upsala in 1528 complained of the king that, instead of observing that article, he had induced monks and nuns to leave their convents

and to marry, and had expelled others whose conduct was reprehensible, instead of leaving them to the chastisement of their ecclesiastical superiors. No doubt pressure was brought to bear upon the monasteries by Gustavus to induce them to make an early surrender. When the whole matter in general terms was put in the hands of the king, it is not surprising, in view of the gross vices that prevailed in many of these institutions, that a man of so decided character as Gustavus should not allow himself to be arrested in his work by technicalities. He was empowered to break them up; the sooner they were destroyed the better would the interests of morality and the welfare of the kingdom be subserved. This was the summary logic which satisfied his mind. No doubt the great good that was accomplished was accompanied with instances of individual suffering; but if reformations waited until no one could suffer from them, they would never come.

### *III. The Episcopal Succession.*

It is to be observed that adherence to the Papal Church was not, as in England, forbidden and punished with fines and penalties. The Bishops were not dispossessed of their sees. They were deprived, indeed, of a large part of their emoluments, and exhorted to preach the pure Word of God, and were not permitted to punish heretics or to brand Protestantism as heresy; and they were stripped of many of their old prerogatives and privileges. There was no fanatical war, as in Scotland, against the Episcopal order as such, but only against its overgrown immunities and privileges and its enormous power. On the contrary, it was the effort of the Government to bring over the Bishops to the acceptance of the new faith by influence, and by compensations for the losses to which they were subjected. They were not at once to be deprived, but to hold their sees with diminished revenues and with increased amenability to the Government and the civil law; but in the mean time they were exhorted

and encouraged to come into harmony with the new system, and to carry it out in their dioceses; and by this means it was hoped that some of them would from conviction adopt the system upon which the Reformation was founded. The policy was not unlike that by which James II. sought to bring back the Bishops of the Church of England to the Church of Rome.

The question of the Episcopal succession, to which so much importance has been attached in modern controversy, seems to have been scarcely mooted. The native historians do not allude to it as a vital question. The old sees, with vastly diminished revenues and privileges, were retained, and it seems to have been by a natural and unforced train of circumstances, rather than by a careful design and arrangement, that the Episcopal succession was preserved. It is evident from the subsequent proceedings of Gustavus, as we shall see, that he attached no special importance to the preservation of the unbroken Episcopal succession, and that he would have been satisfied that the Episcopal sees, as in Denmark, should have been filled by those who had only the ordination of presbyters; and who, while they bore the name of bishops, should in fact have no higher functions and jurisdiction than the superintendents of the Lutheran Church in Germany. It is only in a brief foot-note that the great national historian, Geijer, mentions the method in which the succession was secured. In enumerating the four Bishops that were in the Diet of Westeras, he names them thus: "There were present four Bishops, viz: Brask, of Linköping; Magnus Harolsson, of Skara; Magnus Sommer, of Strengness, and Peter Magnusen, of Westeras,—the latter being the only one besides Brask who had received his consecration, which was performed at Rome. At the king's special request, after Peter Sunanvader had been deposed, *this Peter Magnusen afterwards consecrated the Bishops appointed by the king.*" It was by the consecration of this single Bishop that the succession has been preserved in Sweden.



If, therefore, one deems the unbroken Episcopal succession necessary to the existence of a valid ministry, and to the intercommunion of the Episcopal Church with other churches, he will undoubtedly find that it has been preserved in the Church of Sweden. This has been conclusively proved by Dr. A. Nicholson, of Leamington, for several years English Consular Chaplain at Gothenburg. He recently returned to Sweden, and investigated the question anew, and has produced proofs which are indisputable, that the succession has been preserved in the Church of Sweden. He concludes his documentary and complete evidence in these words: "Those who doubt the Apostolic succession of the Bishops of the Church of Sweden ignore facts, and confound that Church with the Danish and Norwegian bodies. Hence arise their prejudices upon the subject, which are not more reasonable than the Roman suspicion that Barlow and Parker were English laymen, and are not less fanciful, let me add, than the corresponding prejudice existing to-day in the mind of the Swedish High Churchman against the English, as one of those sects which owe their rise to the accidents of the Reformation, and their doctrines on the Holy Sacraments and on grace to Zuinglius and Calvin" (p. 57). Thus Dr. Nicholson, while graciously admitting that the Swedish Church possesses the succession, and may therefore be acknowledged by the Anglican Church, receives in return from Swedish Churchmen the contemptuous statement that his own Church is a mere sect, the creature of an accident, and unsound in the faith on fundamental points!

#### *IV. Execution of the Pretender.*

As the Dalesmen continued refractory, and kept up correspondence with the pretended Sture in Norway, Gustavus marched an army of 14,000 men into the Dale district, and assembled a large number of the people at what was called the Assize of Tuna, and demanded that the chief supporters of the Daleyunker, as the Pretender was called, and espe-

cially those who constituted his council, should be surrendered to him. Resistance was impossible, and a large number of those most active in the support of the Yunker were, after a short trial, executed. The surrender of the false Sture was demanded from the Archbishop of Dronheim, but evaded by sending him disguised to Rostock; but he was discovered in that city by the agents of the king, and tried and executed for treason. It was a severe proceeding, but probably not more so than the emergency demanded.

#### *V. Lutheranism in the Ascendant.*

The time was now ripe for an open acknowledgment and support of the Protestant faith by the king. The most powerful supporters of the old system had abandoned the field. Most of the clergy avowed their acquiescence in the Protestant faith, and retained their parishes. The king declared himself a Lutheran. He appointed Olaus Petri Pastor of the Church at Stockholm, and his brother Laurentius Petri was subsequently (1531) elected Archbishop of Upsala. The flight of Bishop Magnus and Bishop Brask greatly forwarded the progress of the Reformation. The consecration of three new Bishops by Bishop Magnus enabled him to be consecrated by them without taking the old form of the oath to protect the holy Church. At that coronation it was observed also, as a significant sign, that he did not, according to the old formula, receive the crown from the hand of the Archbishop, but left it lying upon the altar, in token of his acceptance of it directly from God. And the sermon of Olaus Petri on that occasion was plainly and emphatically Protestant. From that time the indefatigable Olaus Petri, the polemic and the doctrinal leader of the Reformation, published within a year no less than nine treatises on the points at issue between Lutheranism and Romanism. They covered the whole ground of the reformed theology. In this work he was powerfully aided by Lars Anderson, Archdeacon of Upsala, whose shaping

and systematizing mind brought the new doctrines into a coherent order. They were the Luther and Melancthon of the Swedish Reformation, and the coming Diet of Örebo was their Diet of Augsburg, and its Decrees their Confession.

But although the king and his two principal spiritual aids and advisers were thoroughly Protestant Reformers, they were not Iconoclasts and radicals. While they established a doctrinal reform and rejected the false and deadly dogmas of the Papacy, and swept away with a strong hand the practical corruptions and superstitions of the Church of Rome, they prudently allowed some points of ritual and ceremonial to remain, especially in the cathedral churches, in order that there might be less shocks to the minds of the weaker Reformers, and of the common people. We find, for instance, that in the cathedral of Linköping "six prelates and canons should remain in the cathedral with the best prebends, and keep ten priests to bear crosses, the Bishop two, the Provost two, the Archdeacons two, the four canons each one. In the cathedral of Wexio arrangements were made that there should be four canons with the best prebends and six cross bearing priests and a school." (Anjou p. 230.) These were specimens of what was still allowed to remain of the great staff of ecclesiastics and officials that had before thronged the cathedrals. Moreover the principal festivals commemorative of the life and death of the Saviour were retained, and rich vestments were worn in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and the cross was still borne in processions, and in some cases the crucifix was not removed from the Holy Table.

Although the monasteries became the property of the crown, and the king immediately dissolved most of them, yet even here there was the same moderation displayed as in the matter of ritual and ceremonial. They were not all at once swept out of existence, in cruel disregard of helpless and blameless inmates. Some few cloisters remained after the

death of Gustavus. That of Sko was standing in 1556, and those of Wadsten and Nadendal in 1595. Many of them were converted into hospitals and some into schools for the education of youths.

#### *VI. The Synod of Orebo.*

The Synod of Örebo was opened on the 2d of February, 1529. As the Archiepiscopal See of Upsala was not yet filled, it was represented by Lars Anderson, who was appointed President. The assembly was thus constituted as a National Synod. Besides the three Bishops—neither of whom was cordially in favor of the Reformation—there were nineteen canons, eleven rectors of the larger churches, eight monks and many of the parochial clergy. No record of the proceedings and debates of the council, with the exception of the decree which it passed, remains. If its members were not overawed by the knowledge that the eye of the king was on them, the debates in an assembly so composed must have been earnest, if not stormy. But whatever might have been the secret opinions of some of its members the decree included but little that was not distinctly Protestant. It may be divided into three heads, (1) preaching, (2) discipline, (3) Church usages and ceremonies. The principal provisions, were these: Better provision shall be made for the preaching of the Gospel over the realm. The Bishops were enjoined to preach, and to secure well instructed preachers, under the penalty of losing their benefices. One lesson at least from the Scriptures, with a good and sound exposition, was ordered to be read daily in the cathedrals and public schools. The lectures of the schools should be so arranged that the choristers should have an opportunity of attending them. Learned preachers were to be appointed in towns, to whom all rural preachers might resort for instruction. Afternoon lectures were to be delivered in the monasteries. Sermons were to be begun and ended with prayer. At every preaching, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the

Ave Maria (which it was not thought prudent yet to set aside) was to be repeated; the ten commandments also were to be read twice a month.

In the matter of discipline the Penitentiaries were strictly enjoined to use more sharpness with manslayers and other criminals. As the frequent Holy Days gave much occasion to rioting and sin, it was ordered that our Lord's own festivals, the Virgin's, the Apostles' and those of the national patron saints should be retained, and the rest abolished. Scholars were forbidden to go from parish to parish to collect alms, as the custom gave rise to many abuses. Marriage of the priests was allowed. The Penitentiaries of the cathedrals were empowered to use such severity in their dealings with murderers as they should see fit, and this exceptional power to inflict civil penalties for crimes was placed on the singular ground that "the worldly sword appears to be idle, and has not the force that it ought to have." Each Bishop may limit the number of Saints' days as he shall judge to be most for edification.

In the explanation of Church ceremonies, there is an effort made to show their true and salutary use and meaning as distinguished from the superstitions which had gathered about them in the public mind. Consecrated water cannot take away sin, for that is effected only by the blood of Christ. Images are not for worship, but only for bringing Christ and the Saints into remembrance. Candlemas lights have no enlightening power for the mind, but are only symbols of the true light of the world Christ Jesus. Chrism does not convey, but is only a sign of the Holy Ghost. The ringing of bells has no power over evil spirits, but is of use only in calling the people to the Church. "Church structures are kept up, not for any peculiar sanctity in themselves, for the worship of God, but that men may meet together there and learn God's Word." "Fast days are kept, not as special worship done to God but to tame our lustful bodies." Explanations similar to these concerning Saints' days and pilgrimages follow. Such was the system on which the Reforma-

tion was established in Sweden, and such substantially it continued under manifold difficulties, which hindered its complete ascendancy, during the whole reign of King Gustavus.

#### *VII. Insurrections and Commotions.*

It was inevitable that such great changes, however skillfully prepared for and gradually introduced, would awaken opposition and lead to popular commotions and revolts. A large part of the reign of Gustavus was occupied in struggling against insurrections. They were caused partly by dissatisfaction with the king's ecclesiastical reforms, and partly by the heavy taxation which he was compelled to impose. An insurrection was attempted to be organized by the High Steward Thuré Johnson. He gathered a number of the leading men of West Gothland, and urged them to depose the king who had forsaken the Christian religion, persecuted the Church, and usurped the throne which belonged of right to the house of Sturé. But the appeal was unsuccessful. Johnson was compelled to flee, after having committed some overt acts of rebellion, by which his life would have been forfeited. Gustavus issued a decree of oblivion for all who had been implicated in this attempt—except two prominent and leading lords. He thus, according to his usual policy, so blended mercy with severity that the dissatisfied might be intimidated, and the forgiven be led by gratitude or fear to become loyal or quiet in the future.

#### *VIII. Diet of Strengness.*

At the Diet which was summoned in consequence of this insurrection Gustavus repelled the charges which were made by Johnson the pretext for rebellion. To the charge of fostering heresy he answered that it was not he but the Lord who had commanded the pure preaching of the Gos-

pel. As to other points of doctrine he was content that learned men should meet and adjust them. He denied that he had broken his oath to preserve the privileges of the Church, for it had been decided at Westeras *what those privileges were*, and those, thus authoritatively defined, he had preserved. The old oath of subjection to the Pope and his agents he had indeed declined to take; and when he pledged himself to protect the Church he understood, and none better than Thuré Johnson knew that he understood, that he took upon himself the obligation, "to protect and uphold the Church and Churchmen, that is to say his Christian subjects, *since the Holy Church is no other than the congregation of Christian men and women*. Did any one interpret his oath as confined to Bishops, prelates and priests? then let him remember that the diminution of their power was affected by the council and estates of the kingdom." The appropriation of convents to the establishment of hospitals and schools and to the urgent necessities of the Government had proved an equal advantage to both the Church and State. It is true that he had taken many valuables from the convents when they became empty, but he had used them partly for the aid of the Government, and partly to maintain students in theology, that there might be a supply of persons qualified to teach and to preach throughout the kingdom. The Swedish Mass he had not forbidden, and the Latin Mass he had allowed to be used only in part with the Swedish; because it was more edifying for the people to hear and use language which they understood rather than to hear and repeat by rote an unknown tongue.

We get an insight into the deplorable previous condition of Sweden, and the overshadowing and blighting influence of the Church, from the further explanations of Gustavus in reference to the decrees of Westeras, which had been adduced as one of the great moving causes of the rebellion. The king explained fully the reasons which had led to their enactment. They had found that the worldly engagements of the Bishops interfered with their duty as preachers of God's



Word; their power and their strongholds with the king's rights, and the administration of justice; and were besides inconsistent with our Saviour's commands that His ministers should not be temporal princes. They had found that the estates and tenants of the convents were grossly neglected; that the monks in each had diminished from forty or fifty or sixty, to five or six; and that owing to their ample provision they were leading luxurious lives. Moreover they believed that God would be better worshiped by more preaching and less singing and reading; and that monasteries and cathedrals with a large staff of clergy were not necessary to the right performance of divine service. It also appeared from the old registers that where there had formerly been a hundred nobles, there were now only three or four; the nobles had been induced through superstition or where hard pressed for money to mortgage their estates to monasteries; and hence their descendants became peasants, and almost all the revenues of the country were in the hands of the clergy, who gave no personal service to the crown, and the kingdom was deprived of those men of high birth and large wealth who constituted the ornament and support of the throne.

### *IX. Third Revolt of the Dalesmen.*

This third and last revolt of the Dalesmen was brought about by a cause which touched the sentiments and feelings no less than the pockets of the sturdy and pugnacious malcontents. It seems that up to the year 1529 the debt due to Lubeck had not been paid, although imposts had been laid for the specific purpose of discharging it. In that year it became no longer possible to evade the payment. The Lubeckers threatened to detain Swedish ships as security for the debt. Accordingly at Örebo, in 1531, it was agreed that, in addition to the appropriation for a time of the tithes for that purpose, the superfluous bells of the town and country parishes should be given up or redeemed.

These decrees produced everywhere, and especially in the Dales, the most intense dissatisfaction. The removal of the most valuable bells in a chime changed old familiar melodies into a painful jangle, and broke up many sacred associations which were dearer to the people than they knew before they were destroyed. The Swedes always have been and still are very fond of church bells; and in many small villages in Sweden the tourist will often be surprised at the fine tone and sweet chimes of bells in poor and plain churches. The bells, moreover, had acquired something of a sacred character by having been christened and anointed. The removal of them caused another revolt in Dalecarlia, which was put down with no little difficulty. The futile attempts to adjust this difficulty need not be described. The process of calling a conference, and surrounding it with soldiers, of arresting and executing the leaders of the revolt, and the renewal of pledges of obedience, were all again repeated. This was the last commotion which had any connection with ecclesiastical affairs for a number of years succeeding. The Dalesmen learned at length that they had to do with a king who would not surrender his prerogatives; who would deal sternly and even unjustly with his subjects when the safety of the state or of his throne was in question; whose prudence defeated all their schemes, and whose severity punished every outrage.

#### *X. Provision for Preaching and Church Services.*

The most important portion of the decree of Örebro was that which enjoined that provision should be made by the Bishops for the preaching of the Gospel. But Gustavus did not leave the execution of the decree to those who he well knew would not cordially enforce it. He sent one or two learned and able preachers to each diocese, to preach in the cathedrals, and to establish cathedral schools for the training of a preaching ministry. The indefatigable Olaus Petri prepared postils—corresponding to the English book of

homilies—for the people, to be read by those priests who were incompetent to prepare suitable sermons of their own. He also provided a church manual in the Swedish tongue. This was not published by the authority of any church synod, but it came into general use. In this there were offices for the sick, for baptism, marriage and burial, as well as for the performance of the public services. Two years later, when the introduction of the Mass in the Swedish tongue was complained of by the Dalesmen, Olaus published a work in which he showed the propriety of this arrangement; and at the same time the office for the Swedish Mass, as it is still used in Sweden, was prepared by him. It has been noticed that no direction for preaching is given, and no place assigned for it, in the first four editions of this book. But the use of the book soon extended through the kingdom, and the point in the service where the preaching should take place was designated in 1548. The necessity for this movement and its gradual influence are thus described by the Swedish historian, Anjou :

“Of the success of a work so important to the Reformation, by acquainting the people with the Gospel and its meaning, by introducing true evangelical freedom through a true faith in the Son, who makes us truly free, we cannot expect to procure information from times yet unable to prepare workmen to cultivate the field of the Church. The preaching of God’s Word, the purifying of divine service from superstitions and strange practices, and from a language not understood, together with the reclaiming of the ecclesiastical constitution from being a hinderance to being a means of furthering the kingdom of God, were important steps, and the commencement of a holy progress to a holy end.”

#### *XI. Laurentius Petri Elected Archbishop.*

The Metropolitan See of Upsala had been vacant for ten years. This omission to fill the most important See in Sweden probably arose, partly from the fact that the king could draw from it while vacant a large revenue, and partly from his manifestly increasing indifference, if not repugn-

nance, to the Episcopal constitution of the Church. Lars Anderson, his chancellor, often remonstrated with Gustavus at this delay; and this was the beginning and the cause of the alienation between them. But so great had the dissatisfaction of the country become, in consequence of this long delay, and the evils which it involved, that the king was compelled to take measures in 1530 for filling the See. The Bishop of Abo, Jno Skyette, was elected, but declined. Bishop Sven, of Skara, was elected by the Chapter of Upsala, and he also declined. In the spring 1531 the king summoned an assembly of the Bishops and the chief clergy of the kingdom to Stockholm, to elect an Archbishop. Laurentius Petri was elected by a large majority. It is mentioned as an indication of the predominant Protestant sentiment of the body, that one hundred and fifty votes out of one hundred and seventy-one were cast for the well-known uncompromising champion of the Reformation, while only seven of the remaining twenty-one votes were cast for candidates who were regarded as lukewarm towards the new or secretly devoted to the old system. The new Archbishop was but thirty-two years of age. For forty years he administered the See with wisdom and gentleness, and with an unswerving adherence to his Protestant principles in the midst of difficulties which arose on the one hand from the encroachments of the king on his prerogatives, and on the other from the pressure of those who desired to push the Reformation further forward.

#### *XII. Changes in the Other Sees.*

After the flight of Bishop Brask the See of Linköping was committed to Bishop Jons. After Bishop Magnus, of Skara, had abandoned his diocese it was placed under the care of its provost-master, Sven, who was subsequently elected Bishop of the See. These proceedings were a practical proclamation of independence of the Pope, who, as Bishops Brask and Magnus had not resigned their Sees, still

regarded them as their rightful incumbents. In 1530 Jons Bethius, Canon of Wexio, became its Bishop, on the death of Bishop Ingemar. Magnus Sommer, of Strengness, and Petrus Magni, of Westeras, were all that were now left of the Bishops who had approved or acquiesced in the decrees of Westeras. But when they were led to hope that, by the aid of Charles V., Christian II. might recover his three thrones, they circulated treasonable appeals to the people from the exiled Archbishop Trolle and Bishop Magnus, of Skara. The king had summoned the three Bishops elect to appear at Stockholm for their consecration and his own nuptials. He had also summoned the Bishops of Strengness and Westeras to officiate at the consecration of the Archbishop and the three Bishops elect. Their conduct on this occasion shows that they were not the stuff of which martyrs are made. Just before their journey to Stockholm they prepared a protestation, in which they declared their abhorrence of the soul-destroying heresy of Luther, and of the consecration of the intruded Bishops and Archbishop, which they were compelled unwillingly to perform "under the influence of apprehensions and fears which may well arise even in firm minds." This cowardly document was not to be made public unless a change of dynasty should make it necessary as a matter of self-defense. Whether the king knew of its existence is doubtful; but he was quite well aware of the secret disloyalty of both these prelates. Bishop Petrus retained his office until his death in 1534, and was succeeded the year after by Herrick Johannes, who became an ardent Reformer. Bishop Sommer was imprisoned by the king in 1536, was released after eight months, but not again restored to his See. He ended his days in the cloister of Krokek as an avowed member of the Church of Rome, and in the undisturbed enjoyment of its faith in the year 1543. Thus as early as 1531 the Swedish Church was completely established in independence of the Church of Rome. All of its Bishops professed, and all but two sincerely embraced, and earnestly propagated, the Protestant

faith. But as yet its rules of discipline were uncertain, and the power of the king in the settlement of ecclesiastical questions was practically supreme.

### *XIII. Conspiracy against the Life of the King.*

During the five years between 1531 and 1536 Gustavus seems to have consolidated his power, and to have had some prospect of the peaceful reign for which he longed, and which he was never to enjoy. He had foiled the Lubeckers in their attempt to reinstate Christian. That tyrant was defeated and imprisoned, and no more danger was to be feared from him. The turbulent Dalesmen were thoroughly humbled and subdued, and would henceforth give him no further trouble. An heir was born to him, and thus the power to agitate the country with intrigues for the succession was much diminished. But in that moment of the seeming greatest security he was in fact in the greatest peril. A plot against his life, concocted by demagogues in Lubeck, in connection with some German Burghers of Stockholm, which had remained passive while the result of the war was uncertain, was after its conclusion revived and ripened. The conspirators prepared a number of schemes for the murder of the king, to be employed in turn if it should prove to be necessary. First, a barrel of gunpowder furnished with a fuse, capable of burning three hours, was to be placed under his seat in the high church, and to be exploded during the divine service. Should this fail, Anders Hanson, the king's master of the mint, who had married a sister of Bishop Brask, was to stab him in the Treasury of Stockholm Castle. If this scheme should fail, he was to be taken off by poison. The loyal inhabitants of Stockholm were then to be murdered, and the city to be included in the Hanseatic League. On the day before that appointed for the execution of the plot, a drunken sailor, made desperate by need, was engaged to fire the train. Returning home intoxicated from a carouse with those by whom he

was employed, he revealed to a neighbor and his wife what was to take place on the following day. The latter immediately sent word to the commandant of Stockholm, and before morning all the conspirators were secured and most of them executed.

#### *XIV. The Attitude of Gustavus towards the Clergy.*

It is evident that Gustavus came very little under the influence of the clergy, and that he regarded them generally with dislike, and was inclined to treat them with severity when they exhibited a grasping spirit or intrigued against him. Yet he did not fail to do justice and to render honor to those who were faithful and godly men; and he himself was beyond doubt, from full conviction, a sincere believer. We can scarcely wonder that such should have been his feeling, especially towards the Bishops and the higher clergy, to whom all the evils and burdens of the country were due, and by whom all the rebellions that had arisen either originated or had been fostered, and from many of whom he had received only gross treachery and ingratitude in return for the favors he had heaped upon them. We can plainly trace this feeling in several incidents which occurred after the supremacy of the Reformation had become assured.

We see it in his treatment of Bishop Sommer, and of his successor, Bishop Bothvid. During the festivities connected with the king's second marriage, Bishop Sommer declared that he could no longer sanction and support the Lutheran religion. At an earlier period of his reign the king would undoubtedly have allowed him to retain his See, and would have restricted him only from the practice of those abuses and extortions by which the Roman clergy had heretofore oppressed their flocks. But upon this declaration of the Bishop, made incidentally under a sudden impulse, and not intended as a formal announcement of his purpose, Gustavus immediately, without invoking the intervention or advice of his clergy, deposed him. His successor, an Evangelical



Canon of Linköping, named Bothvid, being asked by the king, who had cast a longing eye on his Episcopal palace, "In what chapter of the Bible is it written that the Bishops of Strengness should live in palaces of stone?" replied, "In the same chapter that gives the kings of Sweden Church tithes!" The repartee was bright but indiscreet, and is said well nigh to have provoked the fate of his predecessor.

XV. *The Trial and Condemnation of Lars Anderson and Olaus Petri.*

The strength of this feeling of hostility to the clergy on the part of Gustavus is painfully apparent from his treatment of his two nearest and most trusted friends, Anderson and Petri. Their trial and condemnation to death four years after the conspiracy, upon charges which, if proved, would not have been high treason, and the alleged proof of which was most vague and unsatisfactory, lead to the inevitable inference that it was passion and prejudice which drove the king to the commission of a great crime, which was aggravated by its gross ingratitude. These were the two friends who more than any and all others most thoroughly entered into his convictions and plans for the Reformation. The causes of his alienation from them arose from changes in himself, rather than from any deviation on their part, from the policy and proceedings which he had formerly approved. The chancellor sometimes acted with less direct reference to the king in the decisions which came within his jurisdiction than the latter, more and more bent on absorbing all power, temporal and spiritual, approved. Olaus, full of enthusiasm and zeal, sometimes uttered from the pulpit sharp reproofs, which touched Gustavus nearly, and which he could not but see were directed against him. But these were surely pardonable faults on the part of those to whom he and Sweden owed such immense obligations. The two charges upon which they were convicted by the commission appointed for their trial, were that they had been cognizant of the con-

spiracy which was discovered four years since and had not divulged it, because it was made known to them under the seal of the confessional, and that Olaus in the Swedish Chronicles, *which were published ten years before*, had made severe reflections which the king believed, but without probability or proof, were directed against him.

The first charge seems upon the face of it most improbable. Lars Anderson had earnestly promoted the Reformation and at an early period, at the command of the king, had translated the New Testament into Swedish, and had with great reputation filled the office of High Chancellor of the Kingdom. Olaus Petri, by his preaching and publications and the composition of the Church Manual, had vindicated the Reformation and given shape and organization to the Church. He had also succeeded Anderson in the office of High Chancellor. And, although a qualified confessional was retained in the early period of the Reformed Swedish Church, it is yet incredible that one whom Gustavus felt to be rather too much than too little of a Reformer, and one so near and dear and devoted to the king, from conscientious scruples which only bigoted Romanists could entertain, had kept a secret on which not only the life of one whom he so much honored, but also the welfare of the kingdom and the success of the Reformation, depended. That Gustavus, who had so often exhibited indifference to abuse and retained his dignity in the midst of gross misrepresentations, should have been so stung by seeming reflections against him, which were published ten years before, and the application of which to himself seems doubtful, shows that a great change must have come over him, the causes of which will presently appear. It was a most painful incident in this mysterious trial that the Archbishop Laurentius Petri was compelled to preside and sit in judgment on his brother. The lives of both of the accused were spared, as it was probably the purpose of Gustavus that they should be. But the position of Olaus in the popular regard appears from the fact that his life was ransomed by a large sum of money advanced for him by the

Burghers of Stockholm. His vindication also seems to have been pronounced by the people, and virtually acquiesced in by Gustavus himself, by his restoration three years after to the Rectorship of the Church in Stockholm. Anderson ransomed his life at the price of the surrender of all that he possessed. He remained under the royal displeasure and died in poverty and obscurity.

It was a cruel proceeding—this condemnation of those whose services to the king and the Reformation had been so great, and whose offense, even if it had been proved, which it was not, was not worthy of death. It has left an ineffaceable stain upon the else luminous and glorious record of the great king's history. The just and right-minded son of Gustavus, Charles IX., was so convinced upon examination of the innocence of these victims of his father's injustice "that he would not allow the charges against them to remain in the history of his father."

#### XVI. *Causes of the Change in the Views and Policy of the King.*

The growing feeling of alienation from the clergy was greatly increased by the advent of two foreigners into the kingdom, through whose influence a new policy in ecclesiastical affairs was introduced. Gustavus was led by them into the adoption in theory and in practice of the most high-handed Erastianism. His dislike of the Episcopate, which was the greatest obstacle to the power of the king in spirituals, was also inflamed into positive hostility by the same agency. It was Conrad Pentinger, who came into Sweden from Germany in 1538, and became Cantor of the Cathedral of Upsala, who poisoned the mind of Gustavus against Olaus Petri and Lars Anderson, and secretly put in motion the proceedings which led to their trial and condemnation. In his project for bringing the Church of Sweden into conformity to the Lutheran churches of Germany he found an efficient co-worker in an ordained Pomeranian noble, George

Norman, who had studied at Wittenberg, and who also arrived in Sweden in 1538, as the tutor of Prince Eric, heir to the Swedish throne. They dwelt in their conversations with the king upon the differences between the Church in Sweden and all the Lutheran churches of Europe, and aggravated the restrictions to which he was subjected. "The king in Sweden ought to have the same power over the Church as was exercised by all the German princes. Henry VIII. of England had made himself head of the Church in his kingdom. In the constitution of the Church Bishops might well be dispensed with, or at least limited in the exercise of their powers. Neither Luther nor Melancthon were bishops." These representations fell on willing ears. "The king was now transformed into a Protestant in the strictest sense of the term, after the pattern of German Lutheranism."

#### XVII. *Depression of the Episcopate.*

After the condemnation of Olaus Petri and Anderson, these two foreigners enjoyed the full confidence of the king, and directed the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom. Gustavus himself adopted a harsh and angry tone towards the clergy. He reproached them for what he called their injudicious alterations of harmless old usages, which were dear to the people, and whose removal excited their anger. He signified to them that he perceived, that like the old priesthood, they aimed to become his master. Peutingier was advanced to the chancellorship of the kingdom, and Norman was invested with a superintendency whose power extended to all the clergy, and made in effect the Archbishop to be under his authority and in a sense subject to his jurisdiction. If it were not, as there is reason to suppose that it was, the design of this arrangement ultimately to abolish Episcopacy, it cannot be denied that such was its tendency, and that its immediate effect was to depress and rob it of its old traditional dignity and power. The king, apparently in imitation of Henry VIII., and employing almost identical phraseology,

announced himself as "the supreme defender of the Christian faith over the whole realm;" and in a letter to all his Bishops, prelates and other spiritual pastors and preachers, appointed George Norman as *his ordinary and superintendent*. Norman, with the consent of a council and assistant, was empowered to exercise the king's jurisdiction over Bishops, prelates and all other spiritual persons. He was to see that all preachers should set an example of godly living to the subjects of the king. All spiritual persons were to be inducted into office by him, and his visitations were to be made at the times and places designated by the king. A board of elders who were laymen were to follow the superintendent and see that the regulations which he had prescribed were carried into effect. One of the prerogatives of the office of superintendent, the execution of which caused much clamor, was the authority to abstract from the churches as much of their ornaments and the old appliances for worship, with their gold and silver and jewels, as he should judge needful for the king's service. This new office reduced the archbishop and the bishops to insignificance and inaction. From the year 1544 the king ceased to give the Episcopal title to any of the Bishops except the Archbishop of Upsala. The other Bishops were called "ordinaries;" and as all jurisdiction was practically taken from them by the Superintendent and his assistants, nothing remained to them but the power of preaching and ordaining. To diminish still further their importance and their power, the sees of Upsala and of Linköping were divided into three dioceses, and those of Westeras and Strengness into two. This continued to be the condition and constitution of the Church in Sweden from the year 1544 to the close of his reign in 1560. From this period to the end of his reign Gustavus openly claimed absolute authority in Church and State. In a letter to the peasantry in the affair of Dieting, he thus wrote:

"Ye would wish to be far better scholars than we and many good men beside, and hold much more fast by the traitorous abuses of the old Bishops and Papists than by the Word and

Gospel of the living God. Far be this thought from you! Tend your households, fields and meadows, wives and children, kine and sheep, *but set to us no bounds in government and religion.* Since it behoveth us a Christian monarch, for God's sake and for righteousness, conformably to all natural reason to appoint ordinances and rules for you, so that if ye would not look to have wrath and chastisement from us, ye should be obedient to our royal commandment as well in religion as in temporals."

#### XVIII. *Condition and Progress of the Church.*

The absolutism which the king had established over the Church—the open and peremptory Erastianism which he had persuaded himself was the only method of preserving the Church from relapsing into the power of the Papacy—continued for a time undiminished. In the midst of the difficulties in which the king was constantly involved, and the amazing activity which he displayed in bringing his kingdom under an orderly administration and developing its resources, we can trace but few notices of the condition of the Church. Here and there we hear of an appropriation of Church or monastic property by the king which caused loud complaints, of the efforts of the king to secure a better educated clergy, of his heavy hand laid upon nobles who abused the power of reclaiming estates given to the Church since the inquest of King Canutson, and of the gradual decrease of the partisans of the old Church, and a corresponding increase of adherents to the new. Gustavus did not succeed in the attempt to degrade the Episcopacy. His views upon the subject became modified, and the superintendency of Norman became analogous to the office of minister of public instruction in modern States. The king became more and venerated as he grew older, and died amidst the profound regrets of his people, and left behind him the greatest name in the history of Sweden.

C. M. BUTLER.

## THREE RELIGIONS.

### A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

*The Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religions of India.* By F. MAX MÜLLER. *The Hibbert Lectures for 1878.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879.

“*The Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt.*” By P. LE PAGE RENOUF. *Hibbert Lectures for 1880.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881.

“*The Religion of China. Confucianism and Tãoism Described and Compared with Christianity.*” By JAMES LEGGE, *Prof. of Chinese Language and Literature in the University of Oxford.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881.

WITHIN the last decade a new science has been asserting its right to a place among the many sciences which are claiming the thought of men. We mean the science of religion. And though as yet it cannot claim to have reached any general laws, the material for its study is accumulating very fast.

This material is to be gathered from every quarter. Nothing that bears upon the subject is to be omitted.

Already the principal sacred books of the East are edited,



and many of them translated into European tongues. The hieroglyphs of Assyria and Egypt have in a great measure rendered up their secrets; while the unwritten myths of many decaying savage races have been recorded for use.

Nor can it be gainsaid that such a science must in time be developed. But, for this purpose, a comparative study must be made of all obtainable systems, ancient and modern, written and unwritten, the highest manifestations of the religious spirit and the most debased fetichism.

This comparison will seek to learn what these systems have in common, what peculiar; and to discover whether religion in its very first postulates can be accounted for upon natural principles, or is a revelation from on high. Such a science must be undertaken and built up with an entire freedom from all *a priori* conceptions and prejudices.

The problems which this study attempts to answer are the highest, the deepest and of most universal import that can occupy the mind of man. What laws, if any, have governed the spirit of man in his search after God, or rather after the realization of his idea of God? Whence came that idea? From external or internal revelation? Did it come naturally or supernaturally? Do the various systems of religion reveal to us a degradation of a primitive revelation of deity, or are they but steps to a higher revelation? What forces have led to the various systems of religion, past and present? These are some of the questions which the science of religion will attempt to answer, and if the working of the human mind in the sphere of religion represents its highest activity, then the best thought of the world should be given to elucidate the method of this working.

For if the proper study of mankind is man, surely the most wonderful part of man, his spirit, with all its strivings through the long centuries, should be to us of quite commanding interest.

Again, this new science, though so young, is profoundly affecting the current theologies, or, it might more properly be said, the opinions and beliefs of men in general. The

Hibbert Foundation provides for the pursuit of this study, and already three courses of lectures have been delivered thereon, viz., on the Religion of India, by Prof. Max Müller, on the Church of Rome, by M. Rénan, and on the Religion of Ancient Egypt, by M. Page Renouf.

It is our intention briefly to examine the first and last of these in connection with the Cunningham Lectures for 1881, by Dr. Legge, on the Religions of China. These three men are masters each in his department, and what they tell us is well worth our hearing.

In the religious system of Ancient India we have a system which is the mother of the religions of the India of to-day, and the ancestor of the mythologies of the widespread Indo-European nations. For the many Aryan tribes carried with them from the center of dispersion germs which developed and bloomed into their various myths.

Ancient Egypt furnishes us a religion which has long been extinct, and one which seems to have had no historical connection with other religions. Again, the native religions of China still satisfy the spiritual needs of untold millions of the human race.

Far surpassing all other systems, in its importance for answering the great problems of religion, is that of Ancient India. For this religion has the peculiar advantage of having a continuous history from its very inception to the present day. We see in it the very first strata of religious thought, the beginnings of its great and complicated Pantheon.

It is the aim of Prof. Müller to trace the gradual development of religious ideas in India from that state, which, after the Bishop of Carlisle, may be called the *Atheous*, up to Henotheism and Atheism.

But the one great problem, the fundamental one of all religion, and the highest which can occupy the student of Comparative Religion, the problem to which Prof. Müller addresses himself, is to account for the very idea, the concept of God itself.

The earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda knew no God, in our

sense of the word. There is no general concept of deity. Whence came this concept? In answering this question Prof. Müller, being forced to it by his opponents, takes for granted only the five senses and the outer world. Given man and his senses, with a world of sensible phenomena, religion, says Prof. Müller, is inevitable. There is no need of any faculty of faith; sense is sufficient for everything.

We must, he says, reject as an absurdity the possibility of an external or internal self-revelation of God. Though why the Deity cannot so reveal Himself, does not appear to our mind. No less superfluous is the assumption of any religious instinct or original God-consciousness. Yet, withal, he grants that there may be a grain of truth in both of these theories; but why if there is a grain there may not be a bushel also is not so evident.

There is, therefore, proceeds Prof. Müller, only one method of man's arriving at the idea or concept of God, and this method he attempts to explain.

Though man begins with nothing but his five senses, yet his senses reveal to him not only the Finite but also the Infinite. In fact there is no finite without an infinite. The Infinite, the invisible, presses upon man everywhere. The limitation of the senses argues that which is beyond the limit, though it is only by a figure of speech that this infinite can be said to be perceived. It is felt. This presence of the Infinite manifests itself to the senses from the very dawn of sense-perception. All objects upon which man brings his thought to bear may be divided into three classes, viz., *tangible*, wholly comprehended by the senses, as a sword, a stone, a shell; *semi-tangible*, only partly grasped, such as a river, the earth, mountains, the fire; or *intangible*, such as cannot be at all grasped by some of the senses, as the wind, the sun, stars, thunder, storms, the rain.

It was the second class that gave rise to semi-deities, and the third to deities.

The ancient Aryan, along with the sensible phenomena

perceived, had pressed upon him something mysterious, unlimited, in short, the Infinite.

In the unbounded earth, the incomprehensible mountain, the nimble fire, the sun and moon going their courses, the mysterious rain, there was something passing man's understanding. Was it not the Infinite?

Another important factor here entered into the growth of the idea of God or gods. This factor is the metaphorical nature of language. All language is metaphorical. There are no abstract or general terms at first. Man ascribes to inanimate things his own actions and thoughts. Even the root AS, "he is," is "to breathe;" BHU, "to be," is "to grow;" VAS, "was," "to dwell." So the river is "the runner," or "the plower." The fire is Agnis, or "the agile;" the storm, Rudra, or "the pounder;" the sky, Dyau, or "the bright."

Combine this factor, therefore, this personification of nature, with the vague sentiment of the Infinite, and we have the origin of religion. Indeed it was no rapid but a very slow growth. The early Aryans knew that the sun, and moon, and rivers, and thunder were not gods, as well as we do. But they invoked their protection, as the rivers for plenty, the sky for protection, the rain for nourishment. Speaking thus of natural objects as of human beings, and observing them often asserting themselves in an incomprehensible manner, what was more natural, in the course of time, than that they should forget that they were speaking of natural events? Sometimes in truth an object under one name was perfectly understood, while under another it became a deity. When in the beginning men called upon the rain to be propitious, their descendants implored Indra to send down rain. Of the fire, Agnis, it was said he devoured his father and mother, that is, the two sticks by which he was begotten, or that he mowed down a whole forest.

By this process was brought into existence the whole Pantheon of India. Mythology is the natural, the inevitable result of metaphorical language. Every natural phenomenon,

under various disguises, becomes a *deva*, or deity. Since the aspects of the sensible world may be looked upon from different points of view, as the dawn may be the daughter or the wife or the mother of the sun, the gods and goddesses become inextricably confused, and perform all the horrid deeds of mythology.

This then is the theory of Prof. Müller as to the origin of religion in India. Assume only the senses and a world of sensible phenomena, and time will people the Pantheon with divinities.

It must be confessed that some of the steps in this development are obscure. How could the ancient Aryans ever forget that the objects of nature were not gods? Was it the natural object itself which became a deity, or that which was supposed to lie behind it?

Then again it appears to us that, in assuming from the very dawn of consciousness a sentiment of the Infinite, Prof. Müller assumes all that can be asked by any intuitionist for the theory of an original native God-consciousness. "*Il n'y a que le premier pas qui coûte.*"

The whole growth of religion, then, will consist in giving this sentiment, vague and uncertain as it is, a local habitation and a name.

The many myths are but the various attempts of man to define and localize the indefinable and unlocalizable. It seems to us that Prof. Müller has not succeeded by his sensational theory in accounting for the consciousness of God, though he has accounted for the idea and concept as far as the Aryan mythology is concerned. Nearer the truth he was when he said, in his *Lectures on the Science of Language*, that "the perception of the Infinite is an intuition as irresistible as the impression of our senses."

In fact it is difficult to clearly understand his present position. He assumes at the outset a sentiment of the Infinite, which is nothing else than a feeling after God, and yet attempts to show how this sentiment arose.

Like all theories which aim at proving God's existence,

or showing how the first notion of that existence sprang up in man, it assumes it in the very beginning.

Prof. Müller argues well against fetichism being a primitive form of religion, since it takes for granted the predicate God; just so might it be said that all along in his theory this predicate is understood.

No, Prof. Müller; unless you start out with the consciousness of deity in your breast, no outward objects, however they may develop and fix this consciousness, can ever originate it. It is native to the human spirit, and only seeks to realize and objectify itself in the outward world? The soul thereby witnesses to that imperial palace whence it came.

We have no quarrel with the science of religion if it shows that the idea of God—aye, the very consciousness of any supernatural existence—has arisen from the senses only. We will be willing so to receive it, and receive it as a revelation as high and holy as though it came from the fiery mount. But this has not yet been demonstrated. While God has not left Himself without witness in nature, which evidences His eternal power and Godhead, and is even "*der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid*," yet this existence is first perceived in the spirit which came from Him and to Him returns. Or, to take an illustration of psychology, just as there must be a mechanical equivalent of consciousness, which equivalent, however, is no explanation of consciousness, so there may be a natural equivalent in the outer world for the God-idea, but this idea is not in the first instance produced by the equivalent.

To resume the course which religion took in India—we see that though there were gods many and lords many, there was no polytheism, many divinities under one supreme God. It was rather what is termed a henotheism, each god being supreme for the time being. He is addressed as all-powerful, as though he alone existed. At one time it is Aditya, at another Indra, at another Varuna. One and then another holds the supreme place in the worshiper's mind.

There was no monotheism in the ancient religion of India. Now and then indeed it flashed upon the soul of some deep thinker that there must be some one Being, the upholder of all—"God is one, though the poets give Him many names"—but this belief found no abiding place.

The time came, however, when the great thinkers of India began to lose faith in their gods, who were resolved once more into their original elements. The Infinite was no longer seen in the storm or the sky or the sun. These were but natural phenomena. In other words, the God-consciousness shook itself clear of all these outward helps.

There were two roads which religion might take, the road to Monotheism or to Pantheism. Very near to Monotheism did it approach. Visvarkarman, the "Maker of all things," was called the One God, "whose eyes were everywhere, our father, who inspires our minds, and knows all things." Amid the shocks of unbelief there was also a tendency to Atheism, but the religious spirit of the Hindoo was too strong for this. The only road left was to Pantheism, and it was this road that religion in India took. In Atman, the Self, the soul must find itself. A subtle and philosophical Pantheism was the final refuge of that spirit which, starting with the vague consciousness of God, came near to Atheism on the one hand and to Monotheism on the other. The field was now clear for Buddhism to arise.

But what is remarkable in India is the fact that the various stages of religion, the Vedic, the sacrificial and the forest, are recapitulated in the life of the individual, just as the evolutionist tells us that the embryo recapitulates the various types of its ancestors. The youth, the middle-aged and the old man, has each his own round of life and duty.

A question may here present itself, whether the history of religion in India, as recorded in its books from the earliest hymns onward, is the complete religious history of the Aryans; or whether it may not be but the history of a single cycle. Do these earliest hymns record the first awakening



of the idea of the Infinite; or had that idea, once clearly entertained, been obscured?

If we now turn to the religion of Ancient Egypt, we will find that the problem is a more complicated one. This arises from two causes: First, there is no beginning in Egypt. The highest antiquity points to an antiquity still beyond. There is no mesozoic time in Egypt; all is archaic. In the second place, the religion of Egypt presents to us, during the historical period, three almost incompatible aspects, the purest Monotheism with the most fanciful mythology and the most debased zoolatry.

The stream is not a clear unmixed one, but many streams seem to combine.

The "Maxims of Ptah-hotep," the oldest Egyptian book, in fact the oldest book of the world, being at least 3000 years B.C., presents to us God as one. His name is Nutar, meaning Power, a name which always preserved itself pure from corruption. The purest Monotheism of Egypt is in the beginning of its history. Again, in the "Book of the Dead," parts of which are the oldest documents of Egypt, the doctrine of a First Cause, called also the Double Being, is clearly taught. This First Cause is entirely impersonal and philosophic.

But, strange as it may appear, along with high and worthy ideas of God, of the One God, there was a belief in a plurality of divinities, which cannot be numbered for multitude. These were the gods of Egypt, Ra, Osiris and Isis, Amon, Seb, Nut, Set, Hathor, Horus and others. And here we meet with the same phenomenon that we found in India. The powers of nature, the sun, moon, night, day, earth, heaven, are converted into gods, gods greater and gods lesser.

As elsewhere, the sun, under his names of Ra and Osiris, is the leading divinity. In Egypt, the country where nature is so constant, it is the constant and regular aspects of nature which gave rise to her gods. Man here as elsewhere reflects in his religion the aspects of the outer world. Give to the names of the Egyptian deities their significance, such as

Osiris, "sun;" Isis, "dawn;" Seb, "earth;" Nut, "heaven;" and we have in the many involved stories of the gods but the daily and yearly round of nature.

There may have been no historical connection between the primitive Egyptians and the Aryans, as conjectured by R. S. Poole, yet Sabeism was a phase in each. We have then the curious phenomenon of a Monotheism combined with Henotheism. This latter religious system, in which each god is for the time regarded as sole and supreme, was no doubt here as elsewhere a result of political divisions. In Egypt every nome furnished its deity or deities.

But here we have to consider a third phase of religion in the land of the Nile—the worship of sacred animals. There was scarcely a known animal which was not worshiped in some nome or city, and some, as the cat, the ibis, and various snakes, were had in reverence throughout the whole land. Zoolatry is the lowest form of religion, unless it be fetichism. M. Renouf accounts for this worship in an entirely unnecessary manner, *i.e.*, by homonymy. In other words, the name of a deity might be the name of an animal, and the two would become associated.

Thus Seb, "earth," was also "goose;" Sebek, a name for the sun-god, was also "a crocodile." Again, the ascription to men and gods of the attributes of certain animals, as of the lion, the bull, the eagle, might beget a reverence for the animals so associated.

But why need M. Renouf have given this explanation of a form of worship, so common among savages, when it can readily be accounted for in Egypt by the combination of the religions of two races, a higher and a lower?

Finding it impossible to uproot the native system, may not the first conquerors of Egypt—in all probability Cushites—have attempted to engraft upon it their own system?

How zoolatry itself may have arisen is another question which has to be solved by a study of it in its purity among savages. Sir John Lubbock has given a very simple solution in what is called *totemism*, the practice of naming first,

individuals, and then their families after particular animals.

Not content with these three antagonistic and irreconcilable systems, Monotheism, Henotheism and Zoolatry, an attempt was made as far back as 1400 B.C. to bring about a reconciliation. This was done in the famous book "The Litany of Rā, or the Sun." The doctrine taught in this book is completely pantheistic. Rā is the One and only God; but Rā is all, and all is Rā. All the various deities are but aspects or names of Rā. Animals are worshiped because, being but manifestation of Rā, they are sacred. "The Lord revealed Himself in all that is, and hath names in everything, from mountain to stream."

Thus we see that religion in Egypt, as in India, having come so near to a pure Monotheism degenerated into Pantheism. There is this difference, however, that we see the monotheistic idea in India flashing forth only here and there in its self-development; while, in the land of the Nile, the clearest conception of the oneness of the Divine Being is in the very beginning of its history.

How this idea was reached the monuments of Egypt can give us no help to discover; but it is something of value to learn that a recognition of one God antedates all history. That which strikes us most forcibly in the religious evolution in the land of the Nile, as well as in the land of the five rivers, is that a time came when the growing mind of man was not satisfied with crude and anthropomorphic ideas of the Deity, but must look for Him in the inner chambers of the soul, and behind, but not identified with, the sensible world. The Pantheism which identifies nature with God, makes nature but His living garment, is to our mind a higher conception of the Divine than any Being with human parts and passions. The one great work of religious development is to purify and ennoble the idea of God. That idea will reflect and mirror back man's conception of the universe.

If we turn now to the course which religion took in China, and trust the conclusions of Dr. Legge, we see that the

historical age of that country, like that of Egypt, opens with a belief in One God, personal and supreme.

Four hundred years before Moses was born, aye, before Abram crossed the flood journeying westward, the One God was known and worshiped in the land of the Shinim. For more than 4000 years, with little interruption, sacrifice and worship have been rendered unto this One God by the Emperors of China. These are startling statements. The most primitive Chinese characters, coming down from a prehistoric period, bring to us the names by which the Creator was called. T'ien is one of these names, a term for the visible heavens. In the Mongolian dialect it is found as Tieng-ri. Another character used by Confucianism exclusively for the High God is Ti, the first significance of which is unknown, but its derived meaning is "lordship or sovereignty." Thus one term for God, T'ien, "heaven," like the Hindoo Dyaus, "sky," has a physical origin; but it was the vastness and illimitableness of the heaven rather than its brightness which seized upon the mind of the forefathers of the Chinese. Monotheism, revealing itself in the primitive records of Chinese history, has kept itself pure in the stream of Confucianism down to the present day. It is thus that the "most ancient heavens, fresh and strong," have revealed the eternal power and Godhead, and helped man to realize the consciousness of the Divine.

In India we can trace that revelation from its very first flutterings all along down its course to its issue in a subtle Pantheism; while in Egypt and China religion, from its emergence out of the darkness of the past, presents us with a firm belief in One God, and we can only conjecture as to the evolution of this high belief.

While in China there was a belief in, and worship of, the One God, having their roots in prehistoric time, there was also a belief in, and worship of, innumerable spirits, all subordinate to the Supreme Being, and acting as his ministers. These spirits presided over mountains and rivers, dykes, mounds and other natural objects. This is certainly

a higher conception than the deification of the powers of nature, and may have been evolved from the latter, and thus go to prove that, even before the dawn of history, Chinese religion had passed through more than one phase.

A third element in this religion is the worship of the spirits of ancestors, a practice current in many tribes and lands, but more fully developed into a religious observance and a cultus here than elsewhere.

But what is singular in Confucianism is, that in it the Emperor alone has the liberty of worshiping God; while the worship of spirits, heavenly and earthly, and of ancestors is given over to the people generally.

It is highly probable that as, in Egypt and India, Henotheism reflects the original political divisions of these countries, a monarchical form of government has found its counterpart in Monotheism, with the Emperor as its sole priest.

It is a mistake, says Dr. Legge, to suppose that Confucius was the founder of Confucianism. The ancient religion of China, having the three features above given, as taught and enforced by the sage, is Confucianism, the state religion of China. Confucius did little to reform or alter this religion. He professed only to pass on what he had received from the fathers. Being of a positive turn of mind, he refused to entertain vain questions and speculations as to spirits and the future life, and has thus, no doubt, given a more practical and positive direction to the religion of his country. He stands before us far less as a reformer than Buddha or Christ.

Confucius, from whom the ancient religion of China thenceforth took its name, was no doubt a benefactor of his country, but, like most of the benefactors of mankind, was appreciated only after he was gone.

So far into the heart of ethics did his vision pierce, that he enunciated the golden rule in its negative form—"What you do not want done unto yourself do not to others." Even this high platform of duty was excelled by his contemporary, but senior in age, Laotzse, the author of the book "*Tao Te*

King." "Do good to your enemies" was by him clearly enjoined.

Curiously enough the philosophy of Laotze has given name to a religion, or, we might rather say, a magical system, with which it has no connection. From the beginning of Chinese history there was a tendency to exercise familiarity with spirits, until it developed into a system antagonistic to the state religion.

Superstition and credulity, working upon the fears and imaginations of the people, were its main elements.

In the state religion the holiest thing was the worship of ancestors, and it is this which, in the hands of Taoism, became a lever to work upon the simple-minded. Once or twice in the person of the Emperor did this superstition gain possession of the throne, but it did not develop fully into a religion and a cult until the advent of Buddhism into China about 65 A.D.; and from the latter it assimilated many elements, as purgatory, transmigration and hell. With Buddhism it made common cause against the state religion. In this system the ancient and honorable name of God, Ti, is prostituted to the use of many deities; for Taoism is eminently polytheistic.

Its conception of the future life is also the very opposite of that held by Confucianism; for while in the latter rewards and punishments are looked upon as following inevitably in this life, either in the individual or in his posterity,—a doctrine taught as plainly as by any of the followers of M. Comte—Taoism, on the contrary, teaches a purgatory and a hell, and thus puts rewards and punishments in the future. In the "Divine Panorama" the description of the awful tortures in hell is realistic enough to have satisfied even Tertullian or Jonathan Edwards.

These, Confucianism and Taoism, are, as far as history relates, the indigenous religious systems of China. A third but foreign system, Buddhism, has won for itself the allegiance of a large portion of the teeming millions of Chinamen.

It has been and still is the fashion to speak of the Chinese as a skeptical race, but we learn that the very reverse is the case. Religion in China took two directions after the time of Confucius, a positive direction and a superstitious one. Superstition is always an accompaniment of the breaking up of old beliefs, or of the rejection of the ancient gods. We have abundant evidence of this in the credulity which swayed the people of India when Buddhism arose. We learn the same thing in Egypt, where magic and sorcery increased with the iconoclasm of the ancient faith.

The power of magic, necromancy and divination in the skeptical age of heathen Rome teaches us the same.

These three or rather four systems which we have had under review admit as we see very few points of comparison, and it would be a great mistake to suppose that the religious spirit follows the same course of development in all races. Far otherwise. The great hope for the Science of Comparative Religion is in a comparison of the first stirrings and flutterings of the human spirit in its endeavor to express the Inexpressible, to define the Indefinable; but as yet this stage in China and Egypt is in utter darkness.

There is, however, one remarkable conception, running parallel in all these religious systems,—a conception which reveals wonders as to the working of man's mind. It is the conception of law and order, which in its purity is a metaphysical and highly abstract concept, but, with the fathers of our race, was a purely physical one.

In Sanskrit, *Rita*, "path," in Egyptian, *Māat*, "law," and Tao, "method," in Chinese—each expresses an idea, which, in the first instance, derived from the settled, regular order of physical nature, came in time to express the moral order of the world, to which men and gods must conform. It must have taken many ages before this high conception was reached, but it reveals to us the fact that there was an idea, though it might be a half-conscious one, of the reign of law in the universe, an idea which represents to us the highest generalization of the nineteenth century.



We could wish that space were given to speak of the ethical standing of the ancient Aryans, Chinese and Egyptians.

In India ethics attained its highest point only in Buddhism, but here its principles are high indeed, and the more wonderful, when we remember that Gotama discouraged all reference to a future life of rewards and punishments.

The evangel of love towards all creatures was proclaimed by the gentle Buddha. "Let us live happily, then, not hating those who hate us; let us dwell free from hatred among men who hate." "A man does not become a Brahmana by his plaited hair, by his family, or by both; in whom is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brahmana (Dhammapada of Buddha). Turning to Egypt we are astonished at the high ethical principles which were reached in the land of the Nile long before Moses was born. "None of the Christian virtues," says M. Chabas, "are forgotten; piety, charity, gentleness, self-command in word and action, protection of the weak, benevolence to the humble, deference to superiors, respect for property in its minutest details, . . . all is expressed, and in extremely good language."

In the "Book of the Dead" one confesses: "Doing that which is right and hating that which is wrong, I was bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, a refuge to him that was in want; that which I did to him, the great God hath done to me." We hear nothing new in morals. Its fundamental principles seem to lie upon the very granitic basis of human society. We will not be surprised, however, if the study of the ethical systems of the nations will not work a vast change in our very conceptions of morals, as to their ground and their evolution. And though we may not be willing to accept the conclusions of Herbert Spencer and the Utilitarians, yet their method, the comparative one, is the only one which will answer the questions raised in ethics.

ROBERT F. JACKSON, JR.

## CANON LAW.

ON the great and profound questions of the origin and sources of the Canon Law I have no intention of entering: these have already been discussed by such authorities as Van Espen, and any person who desires may find his doubts resolved and his curiosity satisfied. I set myself a much simpler question to answer, viz., this: How far does the old Ecclesiastical Law of England bind the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States? This question has been, in recent discussion, far too much narrowed. It has been assumed that the whole Canon Law now in force in England is contained in that code set forth in the time of James I. which we ordinarily style the Canons of 1603. This is a radical and most important error. The Canons of 1603 are of course in full force (*i.e.*, as far as the clergy are concerned),\* but they are not by any means the only canonical legislation of the Church of England in force to-day—quite the reverse: the entire ancient law which was in force before

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\* Middleton v. Crofts, Str. Rep. 1056; 2 Atkyn's Rep. 605.

the Reformation, except only where superseded by subsequent legislation, is to-day binding. This is thus stated as the law by the late James Murray Dale:\*

"The Canons are ecclesiastical laws, consisting of (a) legatine constitutions or ecclesiastical laws made in national synods, and (b) of provincial constitutions, or decrees of provincial synods (see Reeves, *Hist. Eng. Law*, vol. i. p. 66; and Burn, *E. L.*, Pref. p. xxii.). By the 25th Henry VIII. c. 19, and 1st Eliz. c. 1, it was enacted that the Canon Law should be reviewed (which was never done), and that until such review all canons then existing and not repugnant to the law of the land or the king's prerogative should still be used and executed. Such Canons, therefore, are binding on laity and clergy (Strange, 1060)."

Moreover, this enactment is not only contained on the statute-book, but is in active force, so that in the arguments before the English courts on matters pertaining to the ecclesiastical administration of justice Lyndwood is familiarly quoted as an unanswerable authority. But were I to leave the matter here there would still be some ambiguity, for it would not be clear whether the foreign (*i.e.*, foreign to England) Canon Law had any force. To this the answer is double—both yes and no. By its own power it had no force, but it was often adopted in England, incorporated sometimes into acts of Parliament, and has been used as the basis of many decisions in later times.† Yet Sir Matthew Hale distinctly says:

"But their [*i.e.*, 'the papal or imperial laws (which) have obtained in this kingdom'] authority is founded merely, on their being admitted and received by us, which alone gives them their authoritative essence and qualifies their obligation."‡

Nor is it by any means unusual for one nation to incor-

\* Clergyman's Legal Handbook, 6th ed., p. 4.

† Alston (Clerk) v. Attlay, 7 Adol. & Ellis, 289; Burder v. Mavor, 6 Notes of Cases Ecclesiastical and Maritime, 1; and Stanly v. Ullathorne, 1 Hardre, 101.

‡ Hale's *Hist. Common Law*, p. 27; Vaugh. 21, 133, 327.

porate into its code and act on the Canons adopted by the councils of another nation: this was done by the African Church when she followed the Gallican Canons, and by the Roman Church in turn in adopting the African legislation.\*

"To sum up, therefore, . . . the Church law now in force in the Church of England—

1. The common law of the realm;
2. The English canon law, ancient and modern, so far as it is not opposed to the common and statute law or to the royal prerogative;
3. Foreign canon law, so far as it has been accepted by custom or by act of Parliament;
4. The statute law of the realm, including the Book of Common Prayer, with its rubrics and the XXXIX. Articles of religion."†

The great question, then, is not, Are the Canons of 1603 of force in the United States? but, Is the law of the English Church in force in the United States?—a far wider and more interesting question. There are some people who look at the Protestant Episcopal Church as a new body, which came into existence through the ingenious activity of Bp. White and Dr. Wm. Smith. They look upon the first meeting of convention as the assembly of a few vagabond priests, owing ecclesiastical allegiance to nobody, bound by no Canons and subject to no law, save possibly that contained in Holy Scripture. These clerics are supposed to have met with some influential laymen of their own way of thinking, and, by the kind sufferance of the United States Government, to have formed a Church, for which they provided a constitution, a body of Canons and a Liturgy. The whole organization, therefore, being new, had no fetters to bind it, and therefore was then and is now absolutely free from all the shackles of the English law. People entertaining these sentiments did actually exist in the early history of the Church; and Bp. White, speaking in his *Memoirs* of some gentlemen in the

\* Van Espen, Dis. II., De Cod. Can. III.

† Blunt & Phillimore's Book of Ch. Law, p. 26.

Lower House of the General Convention of 1789, who had been expressing their opinions with regard to the Prayer Book, says,

"They would not allow that there was any book of authority in existence: a mode of proceeding in which they have acted differently from the conventions before or after them, who have recognized the contrary principle when any matter occurred to which it was applicable. If that adopted by the majority of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies had been acted on by the clergy and by the individual congregations, on the taking place of the civil revolution, it would have torn the Church to pieces. On the contrary, the idea had prevailed that although the civil part of the institution was destroyed, and each Christian Minister lay under the necessity to discharge the scriptural duty of praying for his civil rulers according to his individual discretion, the rest of the service remained entire, on the ground of *Antecedent Obligation*." \*

Bishop White, of whom, together with Bishop Seabury, a distinguished layman of the Church has well said—

"The two men, who were, each in his way, a head and shoulders taller than his contemporaries—we shall one day learn what we owe to these two men. Attention is drawn to both every day more and more. And the more they are studied, the greater are they seen to be." †

And of whom Judge Ludlow said from the bench—

"That venerable Prelate, whose name and *opinions* to this day, even in a civil court, carry with them great weight." ‡

—Bishop White, I say, here in two words gives us the secret of the whole force of the English Church law (of which we have seen that the Book of Common Prayer is a part)—"*Antecedent Obligation*."

I propose, then, to consider the matter in two ways: 1st, from a moral point of view; 2d, from the historical point of view. I carefully omit the legal side, and all questions of

\* White's Memoirs, p. 148, 2d ed.

† On the Divine Liturgy, by G. W. Hunter, p. 111.

‡ *Batterson v. Thompson*, 8 Philada.

parallelism between the United States Government and General Convention and between that of States and Dioceses (having no legal knowledge), and confine myself to that with which a clergyman should have some familiarity—that is to say, the moral obligation under which he rests, and the history of the Church to which he belongs.

## I.

I suppose it will be universally admitted that prior to the Revolution all the clergy of the Church in this country were bound by the English Church law, and that in ecclesiastical trials these would be the laws which would be authoritative in the matter. To use a somewhat worn-out example: if a clergyman in England could be condemned in an ecclesiastical court for not bowing at the name of JESUS, in accordance with Canon 18 of 1603, a clergyman in the American Colonies could have been condemned for the same offence. In fact, in the statutes of some of the colonies the Canon law was actually incorporated. Judge Sheffey of Virginia said, in his great speech before General Convention of 1871 (Monday, Oct. 23):

“As early as 1624, just twenty-one years after the adoption of this code of Canon law in England, the Colonial Assembly of Virginia adopted that Canon law for the government of the Establishment in that province; and from that time down, on the basis of the Prayer Book, on the basis of the Canon law of England, until the Revolution separated her from the mother country, she continued to be governed, Church governed, priest governed, laymen regulated, by the law of England, thus accepted and provided by herself.”

And further on :

“South Carolina in 1698 recognized the Canon law and the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church [*i.e.*, the Church of England] as the law of her ecclesiastical establishment. And now I come to my learned lay friend from the Diocese of Maryland. I understood him to say that this Canon law was no law to him, and yet [in 1702] the act of

1696 passed by the colonial legislature of Maryland, accepting the law of England in respect to the establishment of the Church, so far as it pertained to these colonies, including the Canon law, having been rejected by the king at first, was remodelled and in 1702 became the law of Maryland and so continued until the Revolution."

The moral question, then, is this. A. B. is a Priest of the English Church and a subject of the English Crown. A. B. ceases to be a subject of the English Crown. Does A. B. therefore cease also to be a priest of the English Church? To state the question is to answer it. Let us then take one step more. It will be recognized on all hands that a Priest of the English Church is subject to the ecclesiastical law of the English Church; the next question of morals, then, is this: While A. B. was a subject of the English Crown he could be compelled to observe the canons, etc., of the English Church, of which he was a Priest; but when he ceased to be a subject of the English Crown he could no longer be compelled to keep the law of the Church, of which he was a Priest. Question: Is A. B. therefore justified in holding himself free from the law of the English Church because he is no longer liable to punishment by the English Crown in the event of its violation? Answer: No. For the "Antecedent Obligation" still remained untouched. The conclusion to which I arrive is this, that after the Revolution and during the Revolution the obligations of the clergy in America continued exactly as they were before the Revolution, and that the only alterations in the service book which were justifiable were those in the state prayers, and that the only departures from the Church law which could be made with good conscience were in those cases where the universal law held good—"necessity knows no law." This point is so important, that I may be excused if I once more state it. The clergy were bound before the Revolution to obey the ecclesiastical law by obligations both civil and moral; after the Revolution was successful the civil obligations ceased. That is to say, the clergy were no longer liable to punishment by



the state for any breach of the law ecclesiastical, but the moral (which should be the stronger) obligations continued in full force; and therefore, until these laws were repealed or altered by competent authority, they were binding on the conscience of each clergyman in America as much as they were on those of the clergy in England. I say as much on the consciences of the clergy in America as on those in England, because I do not wish to entangle my discussion with the question as to how far the Canon law binds the conscience, my contention not being that the English ecclesiastical law binds the conscience of American Priests to-day, but that it binds their conscience as much as do the American Canons contained in the Digest. But it may be said: Were this the case, how can our present American Canons have any force except so far as they are a re-enactment of the English Canons? In order to answer this question I must enter a little into the history of that period which was marked by Revolution in the State and by almost rebellion in the Church. Had there been in America several Bishops, so that a Provincial or National Synod could have been holden after the Revolution, no doubt the case would have been quite different; but there was not even so much as one Bishop, nor even any one person representing episcopal authority: the clergy were simply priests owing and owning a foreign allegiance, and bound by their ordination vows to canonical obedience to an English Bishop. These priests meet together to consult with certain laymen what is to be done, and they decide that before anything can be done there must be a Bishop having jurisdiction over them. When, then, the first American Bishops were ordained in England, by that very act there was transferred to them all that jurisdiction which had formerly pertained to the Bishop of London; and therefore when White, Provoost and Madison returned to the United States a National Synod could be held, and was held in 1789. Now, mark the difference. In the meetings of 1785 and 1786 alterations in the Prayer Book (other than those rendered necessary by the Revolution)

were "proposed," and "an ecclesiastical constitution" was "agreed to." But in 1789, when there was power to act, a Bishop having jurisdiction being present, alterations were made in the Prayer Book, and the book then altered was "set forth" and required to be received; the constitution, before only "agreed to," was then formally "signed," and a Body of Canons was enacted. Thus, then, our American Canons are of force, because the Bishops to whom we owed obedience have loosed us from that obedience and given us the rights of autonomy. It is therefore competent to our National Synod to alter, repeal, and enact according to its pleasure, provided only that the Concordat by virtue of which the succession was given to America be kept intact, viz., that as far as possible there should be no departure from either the worship or the discipline of the Church of England. This Concordat is contained in these words:

"We are unanimous and explicit in assuring your Lordships that we neither have nor propose to depart from the doctrines of your Church. We have retained the same discipline and forms of worship as far as was consistent with our *civil* constitutions." \*

Nothing, then, could be plainer in point of morals than this, that all the clergy of America were bound, by virtue of their ordination vows, by the ecclesiastical law of the Church of England.

But it might be urged that this obligation was personal only; i.e., that the individuals who had been ordained in England were bound by the English law, but that after their death there remained no clergy so bound. To state this in the form of a proposition: If A. B. received certain powers, etc., under certain conditions, to which he binds himself as the terms under which he receives such powers, etc., is he morally justified in giving these powers, etc., to others without binding them by the like conditions? Answer: No, evidently.

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\* White's Memoirs, p. 301; Perry's Hand., p. 45.

The moral obligations seem so plain, that further discussion of the question from this point of view is unnecessary. Nothing but repeal, either actual or implied, can free us from the binding force of the English Ecclesiastical Law, which rules us (as we have found Bishop White saying) by "antecedent obligation."

## II.

I pass now to my second line of argument, viz., the historical; and here I propose to show, first, that our legislation presupposes the binding force of the Ecclesiastical Law of England; second, that it has been the constant basis of action in the Church; third, that it has been the opinion of the House of Bishops and of the Lower House from 1789 to the present time; fourth, that it has been the opinion of the most distinguished Bishops and divines of the Church, as well as of the ablest lawyers who have written on the subject; fifth, that it has been the basis of the decisions of the civil courts in this country. When I have set forth these points in order, it appears to me that no more need be said for the full elucidation of the subject.

First, That our legislation presupposes the binding force of the Ecclesiastical Law of England. It will be remembered that by canonists the Book of Common Prayer and its rubrics are included in the English Ecclesiastical Law. Now, in the Preface to the American Prayer Book we read, "The attention of this Church was in the first place drawn to those alterations in the Liturgy which became necessary, etc.;" and again, "But while these alterations were in review before the Convention, they could not but with gratitude to God embrace the happy occasion . . . to take a further review of the Public Service, and to establish such other alterations and amendments therein, etc." But "to alter" and "to amend" presupposes the existence of the thing to be so "altered and amended." Our legislation, then, in "altering" the Prayer Book presupposes the binding force of that

Prayer Book ; but that Prayer Book has its binding force as part of the Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England : therefore our legislation presupposes the binding force of the Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England, Q.E.D.— which is my first point.

My second point is, that the binding force of the Ecclesiastical Law of England, including the Prayer Book and Ordinal, have been the constant basis of action in the Church. Of this I give but one example ; many more might easily be enumerated. The Ordinal was not adopted till 1792 ; before that time, however, many deacons and priests had been ordained, the old service being in full force. Of this I give three instances : (a) Bishop Richard Moore was made deacon by Bishop Provoost in July, 1787, and priest in September of the same year by the same prelate. (b) Bishop Kemper was made deacon in Christ Church, Philadelphia, by Bishop White, on the 26th of December, 1789, and priested on the next day by the same prelate. (c) Bishop Croes was made deacon by Bishop White in 1790, and priested in 1792, on 4th of March.\* Similar examples will readily suggest themselves to the careful reader.

The third statement which I have to make good is this, that the binding force of the Ecclesiastical Law of England has been the opinion of the House of Bishops and of the Lower House from 1789 to the present time. Now, in making this statement I do not mean to affirm that there has never been any action taken or any resolution adopted by either or both Houses of Convention which would look in an opposite direction ; but I do mean to assert that there has been a continuous chain of opinion, which has from time to time found expression sometimes in one house, sometimes in the other, sometimes in both, recognizing the force of the English Ecclesiastical Law. First, then, I take the Convention of 1789, and here I find the following quotation from Bishop White much to the point :

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\* Batterson's American Episcopate.

"In the appointment of committees on the different departments of the Book of Common Prayer, Dr. Parker proposed that the English book should be the ground of the proceedings held, without any reference to that set out (!) and proposed in 1785. This was objected to by some, who contended that a liturgy ought to be formed without reference to any existing book. . . . The issue of the debate was the wording of the resolves as they stand on the journal, in which the different committees are appointed to prepare a morning and evening prayer . . . instead of its being said—to alter the said services, which had been the language in 1785." \*

The Bishop then proceeds to give the accepted opinion of the Church at large as follows :

"This was very unreasonable ; because the different congregations of the Church were always understood to be possessed of a liturgy before the consecration of her bishops or the existence of her conventions. It would have been thought a strange doctrine in any of the clergy had they pretended that they were released from all obligation to the use of the Book of Common Prayer by the Revolution."

Most providentially an opportunity is given us of knowing which view met with the sanction of the Church. The Bishops proposed that the Apostles' Creed should be printed with the descent into hell, as now in the Prayer Book. The Lower House had ordered it to be printed in italics and in brackets. By some accident the amendment by the Bishops was not read in the Lower House. When, then, it came to printing the book by the Committee there were two views taken. In Bishop White's words,

"And here the different principles on which the business had been conducted had their respective operation. The Committee (*i.e.*, of the Lower House) contended that the amendment made by the Bishops . . . not appearing to have been presented, the service must stand as proposed by them. . . . On the contrary, it was thought a duty to maintain the principle that the Creed, as in the English book

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\* White's Memoirs, 147.

*must be considered as the Creed of the Church until altered by the consent of both Houses, which was not yet done.*" \*

In 1792 a committee was appointed to prepare a correct edition of the Prayer Book, according to the Convention of 1789, and in this the Bishops' position was affirmed and the book so printed. Here, then, is a clear case. In 1789 the House of Bishops affirms that the Prayer Book of the Church of England is binding, except in so far as "altered by the consent of both Houses of Convention." And in 1792 we find this principle acted on. I pass now to a second example nearly twenty years later. On the 19th day of May, 1808, the deputies from Maryland, acting under instructions from their Convention, called attention "to the *expediency of adopting* the English canon concerning marriages, and inserting the same in future editions of the Book of Common Prayer." The canon referred to is No. 99 of the Code of 1603. This communication was referred to the House of Bishops, who on the 21st answered as follows:

"The House of Bishops having taken into consideration the message sent to them by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies relative to the subject of marriage, as connected with the table of degrees, within which, according to the Canons of the Church of England, marriage cannot be celebrated, observe as follows: Agreeably to the sentiments entertained by them in relation to the *whole ecclesiastical system*, they consider that table as *now* obligatory on this Church, and as what will remain so, unless there should hereafter appear cause to alter it, etc."

Here is a plain statement of the House of Bishops that the "whole ecclesiastical system" of England which has not been altered is "now obligatory."

Only six years later we find an expression of opinion of equal clearness, and proceeding from both Houses. The following is the exact wording of this declaration of 1814:

"The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America is the same body heretofore known in these

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\* White's Memoirs, 151.

States by the name of 'the Church of England;' the change of name, although not of religious principle in doctrine, or in worship, or in discipline, being induced by a characteristic of the Church of England supposing the independence of Christian churches under the different sovereignties to which respectively their allegiance in civil concerns belongs. But that when the severance alluded to took place and *ever since* this Church conceives of herself as professing and acting on the principles of the Church of England, is evident from the organization of our Conventions, and from their subsequent proceedings."

Comment after so plain and unmistakable a declaration is unnecessary; if the Protestant Episcopal Church is the same body as the Church of England, only with a change of name, of course she is bound by the Law of the Church of England; for who ever heard of a change of name releasing from obligations to keep engagements! Especially when the body thus with a changed name affirms distinctly its identity.

I skip now to 1871, and here in General Convention assembled there was a most extraordinary and explicit setting forth of this view by both houses, after the issue had been raised and the question discussed at great length. On the eighteenth day of the session a message was received from the House of Bishops informing the Lower House that they had passed a Canon in which occurs the following statement:

"The provisions for ritual in this Church *are*: 1. The Book of Common Prayer, etc.;

"2. The Canons of the Church of England agreed upon in 1603, and in use in the American Provinces and States before the year 1789, and not subsequently superseded, altered, or repealed by legislation, General or Diocesan, of this Church."

The vote on the question of concurrence was taken in the Lower House on the nineteenth day of the session. In the clerical vote 20 dioceses out of 40 voting in the affirmative and 7 divided. And in the lay vote, out of 34 voting,



18 in the affirmative, 14 in the negative and 2 divided. Thus the Canon only failed of passing by a lack of concurrence of the two orders.

When I come to my fourth point I am at a complete loss to know whom to chose out of the vast number of distinguished Bishops, Priests, and Lawyers who have set forth this obligation of the English Ecclesiastical Law in the plainest terms. We have had already Bishop White affirming it distinctly time and time again. The late Bishop of Maryland (whose name certainly carries weight both on account of his vast learning and of his many years' wearing of the mitre) moved the following Canon in the House of Bishops, 1874 (eighteenth day): "No minister of this Church shall marry persons related within the degrees of kindred forbidden in the table *now obligatory* in this Church, as declared in the General Convention of 1808." And in the same Convention the learned Bishop of Connecticut, as Chairman of the Committee on Canons, reported the following: "No minister of this Church shall marry persons related within the degrees of kindred forbidden in the table *now obligatory* in this Church." The same opinion is entertained by the present Bishops of Western New York and of Long Island, who reported to the Convention of 1880 the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the old Table of Affinity and Kindred, wherein whosoever are related are forbidden in Scripture to marry together, is *now obligatory* in this Church," etc. (Appendix to Journal, 1880).

The present Bishop of Albany, in his remarks on Kindred and Affinity, says: "I hold, then, as I have always held, that the English *Canon* of forbidden degrees is our law upon the subject of marriage as a Church" (p. 5).

I do not quote Judge Murray Hoffman, because his opinion on this subject is so well-known that it is unnecessary, and his line so positive that a recent opposer of his view says, "The maximum claim may be considered as represented by

Judge Hoffman." Without, then, detaining the reader any longer, I shall close my treatment of this point by a quotation from the late Bishop of Vermont.

"If, then, the laws of England continued to be the laws of the United States after the Revolution, save only so far as these were changed or superseded by actual legislation, how much more does the principle apply to the Church of Christ, whose 'kingdom is not of this world,' for in the Church there was *no* revolution." And further on: "Having now become an independent Church, we acquired, of course, the power to legislate for ourselves, as completely as the United States possessed authority to make their laws and alter them at pleasure. And as the law of England *before* the Revolution continued to be the law of the United States *after* the Revolution, until it was done away by the exercise of this independent power, even so the law of the Church of England continues to be our law to this day so far as it has not been superseded by positive ecclesiastical legislation. For, as we have seen in the quotation from Dr. Lushington himself, 'No statute can be affected by non-usage.' It needs the authority of the legislature itself to alter what the legislature has established. No other power but that which erects can destroy the law. The omission to legislate cannot alter the law. The neglect to obey it cannot alter the law. The creation of a prejudice against it cannot alter the law. In a word, no law can be deprived of its binding obligation until some other law is passed which of necessity does it away."\*

I come now to my fifth and last point, viz., that this view has been acted on by the judges in the civil courts deciding on matters ecclesiastical. Providentially it is a matter of rare occurrence for any Church matter to come before an American civil court, and out of the cases which have been so referred the vast majority have reference only to questions of title and property rights, which, of course, are decided not by the ecclesiastical law either of this or of any other country, but by the civil law alone. On this account, therefore, I can refer to but few cases; no doubt there are

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\* Law of Ritualism, p. 79.

others, with which a lawyer would be familiar, of which I have no knowledge. In New Jersey a case came before Chief-Justice Beasley. A rector had been prevented from using his church and school building by the vestry on the ground that the pastoral relation had been dissolved by means of a resolution of the vestry. A jury had awarded to the rector damages amounting to \$1000, and the question before C. J. Beasley was on the request for a new trial. In the decision the judge says,

"By the English Ecclesiastical Law, which, although somewhat modified by new circumstances and by American usages and statutes, constitutes the substantial basis of the law controlling the affairs of this particular Church [*i.e.*, the Protestant Episcopal Church], the possession of the church and churchyard is in the incumbent" [Lynd *v.* Menzies, 4 Vroom, 162].

He then proceeds, "in exemplification," to refer to English cases, *e.g.*, Greenslade *v.* Darby (Law Rep., 3 Q. B. 421), also to "Cripps in his treatise on the Church and Clergy (p. 158)," etc., etc. Nor was this decision given without duly considering this particular point, for in the earlier part he speaks of "Mr. Murray Hoffman, in his learned and interesting treatise on the law of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America;" thus to some extent at least denoting his adherence to the principles contained in that work, which Mr. Hill Burgwin denominates "the maximum view." A not wholly dissimilar case came before a court of equity in Philadelphia (Batterson *v.* Thompson, 8 Philadephia, 251), the question here being virtually whether a vestry could at pleasure dismiss a rector, and Judge Ludlow gave sentence supporting the rector, and incidentally referring to the decision of Chief-Justice Beasley with approval. He then quotes the passage given above, and adds:

"These Canons [*i.e.* of the Church of England], by reason of the peculiar nature of the law of England upon the subject, give us no assistance, except it may be said that no

case has been discovered wherein any priest has been condemned without a hearing."

Thus in both these cases, no law touching the matter in hand being found in the Digest, it was taken for granted that the English law ecclesiastical must be consulted, and in the former case, where such law was found, sentence followed accordingly. The same principle was recognized by the court in a recent decision given in the case of "Christ church v. The Holy Communion," in which the whole relation of chapel to church was argued from the English Law, there being no American on the subject, and the opinion given by the court reads as follows: "This principle has been recognized and applied in England as well as in this country. Chapels founded in connection with a congregation or parish will not be allowed to cut loose from the church under whose care and auspices they were established." The cases on which this part of the opinion rests are given by the plaintiffs in their argument before the court, viz., Carr v. Marsh, 2 Phillimore, 198; Bliss v. Woods, 3 Haggard, 486; and Moysey v. Hillcoat, 2 Haggard, 30.

To sum up, then, the argument which I have attempted to set forth in this article: The clergy of the Church being bound by their ordination vow to obedience to the Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England, and there being nothing in the Revolution to loose them from this vow, they remained so bound, and therefore the whole "Ecclesiastical System" was still in full *moral* force so far as they were concerned; and since the powers of the Episcopate were only given by the Mother Church on the express condition and with the proviso that the now national Church should remain a dutiful daughter, continuing in the discipline of her mother, it follows that that discipline is still in force, except only where changed or abrogated by a competent authority. I have showed that this *moral* view has also been the one acted on *historically*; that it was the principle underlying the action taken by Convention with respect

to the Prayer Book; that in many instances it has been the foundation of action taken by General Convention; that it has been affirmed over and over again by both houses of General Convention, separately and unitedly; that it has been the opinion of, I might say, all men who have devoted any care to the subject; and that it has been more than once admitted in the civil courts of this country. I do not know what more can be demanded as evidence of the continuous authority and binding force of a law. And unless this ecclesiastical system, which we have so often acknowledged ourselves as bound by, be lawfully abrogated, this Church will continue to be *morally* and *historically* bound by it, however little she may *practically* follow it.

HENRY R. PERCIVAL.

## THE PRISON OF THE SPIRITS, AND THE SPIRIT, THEIR PREACHER.

AN EXPOSITION OF 1 PETER III. 18, 19.

θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι ἐν  
ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν.

"Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit: By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison."—*Version of King James I., A.D. 1611.*

These words form two principal declarations. In our examination, we reverse the order of S. Peter.

### I. THE PRISON OF THE SPIRITS.

In an inquiry which will be exegetical, as well as historical, we begin with *grammatical principles*.

These principles determine the character of the prepositional clause ἐν φυλακῇ, 1 Peter iii. 19. The clause is in effect an *adjective*.

"Whatever words stand between the article and its substantive are *attributives*."—*Dr. J. W. Donaldson: Greek Grammar, p. 360.*

"A *preposition with its case* is connected *attributively* with a substantive by means of *an article*, in the same way as an adjective standing between the article and its substantive."—*Professor J. N. Madvig: Greek Syntax, p. 10.*

"The attributive adjective *expresses some quality residing in the subject.*"—*Rev. Dr. Jelf: Greek Grammar, § 425.*

"The attributive adjective is purely *adnominal, belonging exclusively to its substantive.*

"The attributive stands in the *closest relation to its subject, forming with it one complex idea, like the parts of a compound word.*"—*Professor James Hadley: Greek Grammar, §§ 488, 489.*

These quotations from grammarians whose knowledge of the Greek language is universally admitted, establish immovably these facts respecting the phrase *ἐν φυλακῇ*, "in prison," 1 Peter iii. 19:

1. The phrase is an *attributive*. Dr. Donaldson.
2. This attributive is an *adjective*. Prof. Madvig.
3. *Ἐν φυλακῇ*, in prison, expresses some *quality* of τοῖς πνεύμασι, the spirits. Dr. Jelf.
4. So close is the relation between *ἐν φυλακῇ*, in prison, and τοῖς πνεύμασι, the spirits, that they form *one complex idea*. Prof. Hadley.

These facts fully justify the position we take with regard to the imprisonment of the spirits mentioned by S. Peter.

Their imprisonment was not objective; was not external; was not imposed by others. On the contrary, their imprisonment was *in themselves*; was *self-imposed*; was *personal*; was *spiritual*.

#### EARLY VERSIONS.

Among the Early Versions of the New Testament are the *Latin and the Syriac*. Both these Versions regard the prison of which S. Peter writes as *subjective and personal*. As a general fact, the Latin and Syriac Versions represent the belief of the Christian world as existing at the time these Versions originated.

The Latin Vulgate represents the belief of Christian Europe. The Syriac Version represents the belief of large portions of the Christians in Western Asia. The Primi-



tive Church, since thus represented, believed that *S. Peter's prison was in the minds and hearts of the antediluvians.*

### *The Latin Vulgate.*

The Latin Vulgate, the creation of the second century of the Christian era, translates *ἐν φυλακῇ*, 1 Peter iii. 19, by *in carcere*.

But by the expression *in carcere* the Vulgate does not denote *the world of the dead*, but describes imprisonment which is *figurative and spiritual*.

The *non-literal* sense of *in carcere*, 1 Peter iii. 19, is established by the meaning the Vulgate elsewhere assigns this expression. Absolutely *everywhere* in the Vulgate is "*in carcere*" a *figurative and spiritual imprisonment*.

In the Old Testament, *Sheol*, the Hebrew word for "The place of departed spirits," occurs *thirty-one* times. *Not in a single instance* does the Vulgate translate *Sheol* by *carcer*, but by either *inferum*, *infernium*, or *mors*.

In the New Testament, *Hades*, the Greek word for "The place of departed spirits," is found *eleven* times. *In no instance* does the Vulgate translate *ᾗδης* by *carcer*, but by either *inferum*, *infernium*, or *mors*.

Thus, *forty-two* opportunities had the Vulgate for translating "The place of departed spirits" by *carcer*. Yet the Vulgate neglects *every opportunity*!

How can we explain this repeated and uniform neglect?

There is but one possible explanation. In the judgment of the Vulgate, *carcer*, in 1 Peter iii. 19, does not mean "The place of departed spirits;" does not mean The invisible world; does not mean The unseen region, where disembodied souls are reserved unto the Final Judgment.\*

\* Regardless of the Vulgate, the Rheims New Testament explains *carcer* as "Purgatory, or a middle state of souls."—*Table of Controversies*, and note on 1 Peter iii. 19.

## THE VULGATE RECOGNIZES THE ATTRIBUTIVE POSITION.

This recognition is in 2 Peter ii. 7, in this clause: "a nefandorum *luxuriosa conversatione*."

By these words the Vulgate translates this Greek, ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀθέσμων ἐν ἀσελείᾳ ἀναστροφῆς, "the filthy conversation of the wicked."

In this sentence, ἐν ἀσελείᾳ is the *attributive* adjective of τῆς ἀναστροφῆς. The Vulgate, by translating ἐν ἀσελείᾳ by the adjective *luxuriosa*, fully recognizes the attributive character of the prepositional clause ἐν ἀσελείᾳ.

The English translators of the passage recognize, during a *period of five centuries*, this attributive position.

The English translators, when changing ἐν ἀσελείᾳ into the Anglo-Saxon tongue, uniformly follow the Vulgate, and thus with this Version fully recognize the attributive character of S. Peter's prepositional clause:

1. Wiclif, A.D. 1380: *leccherous conversacioun*.
2. Tyndale, A.D. 1526: *unclely conversacion*.
3. Cranmer, A.D. 1539: *unclely conversacyon*.
4. Coverdale, A.D. 1540: *ungodly conversacion*.
5. Geneva, A.D. 1557: *unclely conversation*.
6. Rheims, A.D. 1582: *luxurious conversation*.
7. King James, A.D. 1611: *filthy conversation*.
8. Dean Alford, A.D. 1859: "ἐν ἀσελείᾳ ἀναστροφῆς is to be *taken together*; ἐν ἀσελείᾳ denoting the character of the behavior or manner of life."

By investing ἐν ἀσελείᾳ with "*character*," Dean Alford makes the clause *an adjective*. When he assigns *character* to ἐν ἀσελείᾳ he, at the same time, assigns *character* to ἐν φυλακῇ, 1 Peter iii. 19, and takes from it *locality*.

9. Westminster, A.D. 1881: *lascivious* life.

These facts clearly indicate the true explanation of 1 Peter iii. 19.

In construction, *τῆς ἐν ἀσελείᾳ ἀναστροφῆς* and *τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι* are identical. Each construction, moreover, is *S. Peter's*. *His mind in the one is his mind in the other*. In each verse, the prepositional clause *stands between the article and its noun*. The translators just quoted make an adjective of the prepositional clause in 2 Peter ii. 7. By this act of theirs, *they also make the prepositional clause an adjective in 1 Peter iii. 19, AND THUS IMPART THEIR COMPLETE SANCTION TO THIS TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK EXPRESSION, τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι, THE IMPRISONED SPIRITS.*

### *The Syriac Version.*

*The Peshito*, the Syriac Version of the New Testament, is by the majority of Christian scholars regarded as of equal antiquity with the Latin Vulgate.

The Syriac translation of 1 Peter iii. 19 presents several peculiarities, which demand our most careful attention.

1. The slightest inspection of the Syriac Version of the passage discloses this fact: the translation is in its character *a paraphrase*; and, as such, is rather an explanation than a literal transcript of the Greek text.

2. As a paraphrase, the Syriac has, in 1 Peter iii. 19, its substitutions, its omissions, its explanations.

As a substitution, the Syriac displaces "spirits" and instead inserts "souls."

As an omission, the Syriac does not give a *literal* rendering of the Greek *φυλακή*, "prison."

As an explanation, the Syriac defines the phrase "in prison" by the expression "held by *Sheol*."

These facts respecting the Syriac paraphrase of 1 Peter iii. 19 enable us to detect the methods of interpretation the Syriac translators followed in their version of this place:

1. First of all, the authors of the Syriac Version of 1 Peter iii. 19 change the term "spirits" into the term "souls."

The Syriac translators had a potent reason for this change. The reason we shall soon discover.

#### MEANING OF THE TERM "SOULS."

The meaning of the term "souls" is determined by its Greek usage in the New Testament. The men who made the Syriac Version must have used the term "souls" in precisely the same sense as the New Testament Greek uses the term.

What, then, in New Testament Greek is the meaning of the term "souls"?

The Greek New Testament broadly and invariably distinguishes between "souls," *ψυχαί*, and "the souls," *αἱ ψυχαί*.

"Souls" in Greek New Testament usage is the equivalent of *persons*, of *persons alive in this world*.

S. Peter himself uses the term "souls" in this very sense:

"The salvation of souls," of *persons*. 1 Peter ii. 9.

"Eight *souls*," *persons*, "were saved by water." iii. 20.

"Beguiling unstable *souls*," *persons*. 2 Peter ii. 14.

"Souls" also means *persons* in Acts ii. 41, vii. 14, xxvii. 37, Rev. xviii. 13.

But only *twice* in the New Testament does the term "souls" denote *disembodied* spirits, Rev. vi. 9, xx. 4; and then the expression is not simply *souls*, but *αἱ ψυχαί*, *the souls*.

The fact is thus most firmly established by the usage of the Greek New Testament that "souls" means *persons*, even *persons alive in this world*.

The authors of the Syriac Version knew this usage, and must have followed it.

In turning S. Peter's Greek into their own language, the Syriac translators would not reject S. Peter's usage.

By "souls" S. Peter designates *men living on this earth*. By "souls" the Syrians in their translation also designate *men alive on this earthly sphere*.

We can now see the potent reason which prompted the translators of the Greek into Syriac to change "spirits," in 1 Peter iii. 19, into "souls."

#### MEANING OF "SPIRITS" IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

In the Greek of the New Testament, the term "spirits" has these five meanings:

- (1) "Angels," Heb. i. 14, "ministering spirits."
- (2) "Devils" (demons). Luke x. 20.
- (3) Human "spirits." "Father of *spirits*" (*apart from bodies*). Heb. xii. 9.
- (4) "The spirits of just men made perfect." Heb. xii. 23.
- (5) Men living in this world. "Try *the spirits*, because many *false prophets* are gone out *into the world*." 1 John iv. 1.

With S. John, in this passage, "spirits" and "false prophets" are *identical*. But the "false prophets" are (a) men (b) alive [going out] (c) "in this world." Consequently, since "spirits" and "false prophets" are identical, S. John's "spirits" are also *men alive in this world*.

Of the five classes of "spirits" in New Testament Greek, angels, demons, human spirits, spirits perfected, men alive in this world, only the last class can agree with the context of 1 Peter iii. 19. To S. Peter's "spirits" *preaching* is addressed. He *preached to spirits*. But "angels" are not in want of preaching. Demons would not receive preaching. Human spirits, since contemplated (Heb. xii. 9) *apart from human bodies*, could not hear oral preaching. Perfected spirits of just men do not need preaching. These four classes of "spirits," being thus excluded from S. Peter's mention of preaching (1 Peter iii. 19), the only class of spirits remaining to be addressed by preaching is the class defined by S. John as *men alive in this world*.

The Syriac Version in 1 Peter iii. 19 evidently accepts S. John's definition of "spirits," *men alive in this world*; while, in order to make this definition of "spirits" fixed and unalterable, the Syriac changes "spirits" of the Greek in

the passage into "souls;" for the reason that the unvarying meaning of "souls" (the word "spirits" changes its meaning *five* times) in New Testament Greek is *men alive in this world*, and *occupying bodies of flesh and blood*.

By this change of "spirits" into "souls" the Syriac translators emphasize and enforce their explanation of S. Peter's term "spirits." With these Syrians, "spirits" in 1 Peter iii. 19 are not *disembodied souls*, but "flesh and bones" (Luke xxiv. 39): Men, Men alive, Men passing their lives on this material earth.

#### NEW TRUTHS.

Truth is prolific. One truth creates other truths. The truth that, according to the Syriac Version, "souls" are *men alive in this world* creates the following truths: Every act done to these men, Every constraint they endure, Every instrument by which they are affected, is wholly and forever limited to *this present life*. Nothing whatever attributed in the Syriac text to these *living* men pertains to *the world of the dead*.

Since the "souls" are men *in this world*, these inhering facts spring into being: The preaching the "souls" receive, The confinement they experience, The *Sheol* in which they are situated, are all, without exception, *in the present life*.

The explanations we give of this preaching, of this confinement, and of *Sheol* itself must exactly accord with this primary fact the Syriac translators establish; namely, The men who are affected by these circumstances are alive and in this material world. Even *Sheol*, although usually designating "the place of departed spirits," can have no such designation in the Syriac of 1 Peter iii. 19.

#### 1. The Preaching. 1 Peter iii. 19.

This preaching, according to the explanation the Syriac Version itself gives of the term "spirits," was addressed to *men alive in this world*. Who these living earthly auditors of the preaching were, the Syriac Version informs us, when

to its previous declaration, He preached to souls which were being held by Sheol, this Version adds these words: "those that aforetime were not obedient in the days of Noah."

Thus, the Syriac Version decides that the preaching, 1 Peter iii. 19, was addressed to the antediluvians.

2. The Confinement of the Antediluvians by Sheol. "And He preached to souls, those who were being held by Sheol." (Literal translation of the Syriac, 1 Peter iii. 19.)

The expression "were being held by Sheol" is the paraphrase which the Syriac uses to explain this Greek phrase, *ἐν φυλακῇ*, "in prison," 1 Peter iii. 19.

This Syriac paraphrase is worthy of close study.

(1) The word *φυλακή* occurs in the New Testament Greek forty-five times, and in these senses: *Act of watching, Time of watching, Place of watching, prison.* The Syriac adapts its translating words and phrases to these varied meanings. More than thirty times the Syriac translates *φυλακή*, prison, by the expression "house of prisoners;" e.g., Luke iii. 20. But absolutely only once, 1 Peter iii. 19, does the Syriac represent *φυλακή*, prison, by *Sheol*, which thus takes the place of the otherwise universal phrase in Syriac for a literal prison.

(2) *Sheol* is not the Hebrew equivalent of *φυλακή*, prison. In no place does the Septuagint translate *Sheol* by *φυλακή*.

(3) In the New Testament, *φυλακή* is never connected with *ᾗδης*, *Hades*.

(4) Neither *Sheol*, in the Old Testament, nor *Hades*, in the New Testament, does in itself indicate confinement.

(5) Only, then, in a figurative and spiritual sense can *Sheol* express confinement.

(6) When the Syriac Version rejects from 1 Peter iii. 19 the usual expression for a literal prison, this version in effect declares that its paraphrase of *ἐν φυλακῇ*, namely, "were being held by Sheol," is purposely designed by them to describe confinement which is figurative and spiritual.



(7) *The Syriac Verb Echad, To hold.*—This Syriac verb *Echad*, in 1 Peter iii. 19, is most comprehensive and forcible. Its uses disclose its elasticity and power.

We select from its varied meanings, exhibited by its rendering of Greek verbs:

Matt. xiv. 3, κρατήσας, "laid hold on," English Version.

John xx. 23, κρατήτε, "retain."

1 Thess. v. 21, κατέχετε, "hold fast."

Matt. vi. 6, κλείσας, "shut."

Acts v. 23, δεσμωτήριον κλεισμένον, "the prison shut."

These instances, selected from the numerous places where the verb *Echad* occurs in the Syriac New Testament, unfold the elastic and forcible character of the word.

In Acts v. 23 this Syriac verb describes a *closed prison*. This fact may be the reason why the Syriac translators of 1 Peter iii. 19 employ this verb in their paraphrase of the Greek expression ἐν φυλακῇ. As a portion of the paraphrase, *Echad* does in 1 Peter iii. 19 include the idea of imprisonment. This included idea, and also the inherent force of retention in this verb, demand *imprisoned* as the translation of the Syriac *Echad*, 1 Peter iii. 19.

#### BETH INSTRUMENTAL.

In Acts ii. 24, the Greek expression κρατεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, "he should be holden of it" (that is, ὑπὸ θανάτου, by death), the Syriac thus translates: he should be held by it, by Sheol.

Here the Syriac equivalent of *by it* is the translation of the Greek ὑπ' αὐτοῦ; the Syriac thus expressing by its preposition *Beth* the instrumental Greek preposition ὑπὸ, which in English is *by*.

In addition to this instrumental sense which the Syriac gives its preposition *Beth*, the Syriac proceeds to explain the phrase *by it*, by appending the phrase *by Sheol*. Thus, according to the Syriac, *by it* and *by Sheol* are identical. But *Beth* in the phrase *by it* is instrumental. The conse-

quence one cannot avoid, namely, *Beth* in the Syriac phrase, *Beth-Sheol*, is also *instrumental*.

By these explanations, first of *ὑπό* by *Beth*, and then of the phrase *by it* by the phrase *by Sheol*, the Syriac authorizes us to translate *Beth-Sheol*, 1 Peter iii. 19, *by Sheol*. Even with *Sheol*, *Beth* is not always *local*.

Acts ii. 24 is not the only instance where the Syriac makes *Beth* instrumental. *Κρατήσωσι δόλω*, "might take by subtilty," Matt. xxvi. 4, the Syriac translates, *By guile* be taken.

#### SHEOL FIGURATIVE.

We have just seen, in Acts ii. 24, that *Sheol* is Death *physical*, and therefore is *figurative*.

In Prov. xxiii. 13, 14, *Sheol* is Death *moral*, and consequently is *figurative*.

"Withhold not correction from the child: for if thou beatest him with the rod, he shall *not die*" (die a *moral death*). "Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from *Sheol*" (from *death moral*).

*Sheol* is also a *state of sin*, and thus is again *figurative*.

"Great is thy *mercy toward* me: and thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest *Sheol*." (Ps. lxxxvi. 13.)

"*Mercy toward*" is forgiveness. Without *sin*, forgiveness is impossible. *Sheol*, therefore, in this passage, is a *state of sin*.

But a state of sin is a *process* ("Add sin to sin"—James v. 1). A process of sin is a *habit of sin*. *Sheol figurative* is thus demonstrated to be *the habit of sin*.

In 1 Peter iii. 19, the Syriac Version, by the sense of its previous words, forces upon *Sheol* a *figurative meaning*. Bible usage, in the places just quoted, reveals the figurative sense the Syriac Version *actually* imposes upon *Sheol*. *Sheol*, as the instrument by which the antediluvians were seized, kept, held fast, is a *state of sin*. *Sheol*, in its figurative character, is another name for *sin*.

This, then, is the English translation the Syriac of 1 Peter iii. 19 creates for itself:

*And He preached to souls, who were imprisoned by sin.*

The Syriac Version, in its explanation of St. Peter's words, 1 Peter iii. 19, agrees exactly with the Latin Vulgate. With both Versions, the "*spirits*" are antediluvians, and their imprisonment is self-imposed, and is the bondage and tyranny of sin in their own minds and hearts.

#### THE EARLY FATHERS.

The Early Fathers of the Christian Church confirm the explanation the Vulgate and the Syriac give of 1 Peter iii. 18, 19.

Both Greek and Latin Fathers unite in this confirmation.

We will first present the expositions of one or two of the most distinguished among the Latin Fathers.

*Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers. Fourth Century.*

"Si in carcere positus, etiam ante Noe tempora exhortationem secundum beatum Petrum Dominus prædicavit."

"Since, according to blessed Peter, our Lord also, before the times of Noah, preached his exhortation to them placed in prison."—*Hilary on Psalm CXLII.*

Hilary lived *one century before* Augustine. He then did not borrow his explanation of 1 Peter iii. 19 from the *African Father*. Hilary's words are full of instruction, for they affirm—

1. Christ's preaching occurred "*ante Noe tempora*," before Noah's times.

2. The preaching of Christ was addressed to the antediluvians.

3. Their prison, since it could not be *material*, is *spiritual*.

*Augustine. Fifth Century.*

The language Augustine employs when commenting upon the words of S. Peter, First Epistle, iii. 19, is most explicit and valuable:

"Spiritus in carcere conclusi sunt increduli qui vixerunt temporibus Noe, quorum spiritus, i. e. *animæ erant in carne*

*et ignorantia tenebris velut in carcere conclusæ.*" (*Epistola*, 99, ad Euodiam.)

The spirits in prison enclosed are the unbelieving, who lived in the times of Noah, whose spirits, that is *minds*, were enclosed in the flesh and the darkness of ignorance, even as in a prison.

By amplification Augustine repeats Hilary.

#### MEDÆVAL WRITERS.

Bede, the Venerable, eighth century; Rabanus Maurus and Walafrid Strabo, ninth century; Anselm, eleventh century; Nicholas of Lyra, fourteenth century, adopt and repeat the explanation transmitted to them from the Latin and Syriac Versions and from Hilary and Augustine.

#### II. THE SPIRIT, THE PREACHER TO THE SPIRITS.

*θανατωθεῖς μὲν σαρκὶ ζωοποιηθεῖς δὲ πνεύματι.*

"Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit."—*Bible of King James I.*, A.D. 1611: 1 Peter iii. 18.

The Spirit in this verse is the Divine Spirit of Christ. His preaching to the antediluvians presupposes and proves His Deity. Only by His Divine Spirit could He preach to the generation before the flood. "*The Spirit of Christ* was in the prophets" of the Old Testament (1 Peter i. 11). "The Spirit of Christ" was, therefore, in the patriarch Noah, and through him preached to his contemporaries.

The Deity of Christ (not His human soul) quickened to life His dead body sleeping in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea.

Most rightly does our English Bible translate *ζωοποιηθεῖς πνεύματι*, "quickened by the Spirit." The context demands this instrumental translation.

#### ANTITHETIC CLAUSES.

The antithesis in the clauses of 1 Peter iii. 18 does not require a different rendering. Unquestionable instances are there in the New Testament Greek where, in antithetic

clauses, nouns have *different* attributes: *Ἐι ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν*—If we live *by* the Spirit, *according* to the Spirit let us also walk. (Gal. v. 25.)

*Πνεύματι* in each clause of this verse designates the Holy Spirit.

1. Were "*in* the Spirit" the sense of *πνεύματι* in the first clause, the preposition *ἐν* would be expressed; e. g. Rom. viii. 9.

2. *Without* a preposition, *πνεύματι* the Holy Spirit, is *instrumental*. Rom. viii. 13, 14; Gal. iii. 3.

In the first clause of Gal. v. 25, *πνεύματι* is, therefore, *instrumental*: *by* the Spirit.

3. In the second clause of Gal. v. 25, *στοιχῶμεν* forbids the instrumental sense for *πνεύματι*, as this verb always either expresses or implies *a standard* of living: *according* to the Spirit.

This is the usage of *στοιχεῖν* elsewhere; consequently, its usage here.

#### TESTIMONY OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

*Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, Cyprus. Fourth Century.*

*Μυστήριον ὁ ἀπαθὴς Λόγος, παθὼν ἐν σαρκὶ δι' ἡμᾶς, μένει δὲ ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ, ὡς λέγει Πέτρος, θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι.*

"Mystery:—The impassible Logos, while suffering in the flesh, yet remains in impassivity: as saith Peter, Put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit." (Lib. I. 25, p. 448.)

This exposition of 1 Peter iii. 18 by a *Greek* Father is on account of its teaching most valuable.

According to Mark viii. 12, *πνεῦμα*, the *human* spirit of Christ, in this passage of S. Mark, *suffered*: *ἀναστενάξας τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ*, "*sighed deeply* in his spirit."

That *ἀναστενάξας*, here in Mark viii. 12, denotes *suffering* is certain from 2 Macc. vi. 30, where *ἀναστενάξας* is defined by *πάσχω*, *ἀναστενάξας ἔειπε—τὰντα πάσχω*, "he *groaned* and said, These sore pains *I suffer*."

These declarations in Mark viii. 12 and 2 Macc. vi. 30

show us how Epiphanius understood and explained 1 Peter iii. 18.

According to Epiphanius, *πνεύματι*, 1 Peter iii. 18, is *ἀπαθής* and *ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ*, *impassible* and *in impassibility*. But according to Mark viii. 12 and 2 Macc. vi. 30, the *human* spirit of Christ was *παθητός* and *ἐν πάθει*, *capable of suffering* and *in suffering*. Consequently, Epiphanius gives to 1 Peter iii. 18, these most instructive interpretations:

1. *πνεύματι*, because incapable of suffering and not in suffering, is the *Divine Spirit* of Christ.

2. *σάρκι*, because *πνεύματι* is *not* Christ's *human* spirit, but His *Divine Spirit*, includes His *human spirit* and denotes His *entire humanity*, "spirit, soul, and body," (1 Thess. v. 23.)

*Augustine. Fifth Century.*

"Christus iis *non in carne*, qui nondum erat incarnatus, sed *in spiritu*, i.e. secundum divinitatem prædicavit." (*Epistola*, 99, ad Euodiam.)

Christ, who was not yet incarnate, to these preached, not in His flesh, but in His Spirit, that is, according to His Divinity.

*Æumenius. Tenth Century.*

1 Peter iii. 19.

καὶ ἐπεὶ διπλοῖς ὁ χριστὸς, θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, διπλὴν καὶ τὴν χάριν ἡμῖν παρέχε παθὼν. ἀποθανὼν γὰρ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀπηλλάξεν ἡμᾶς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἡμῖν ἐνκαινίσας, καὶ δοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπόδειγμα, ὡς οὐκ ἔτι οἱ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀνέλπιστον ἀνάστασεως ὑπέρχονται θάνατον. ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τῆς θεότητος δυνάμει, ἀνέστη γὰρ ἐκ νεκρῶν, οὐκ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὡς θεός.

"And since in a twofold nature is Christ, God and Man, also the twofold blessing to us He offered by suffering. For when dying as Man He delivered us from death and corruption, by inaugurating the resurrection for us, and giving by Himself the pattern; so that they who are not yet dying unavoidable death are taking possession of the resurrection. But quickened, that is, rising from the dead by the power

of His Godhead. For He arose from the dead, not as Man, but as God."—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 511. *Paris Edition*, A.D. 1631.

*Theophylact. Twelfth Century.*

1 Peter iii. 18.

"Vivificatus autem, hoc est, ex mortuis divina virtute resurgens (siquidem hoc non quâ homo, sed quâ Deus præstitit).

"Mortificatus quidem carne, vivificatus autem spiritu: carne mortificatus, id est, quâ homo. Vivificatus autem spiritu, hoc est, ut Deus: Spiritus enim nomine intelligit Deum; per carnem vero hominem."

But quickened, that is, from the dead by divine power arising (since this he executed, not as Man, but as God).

Put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit. In the flesh put to death, that is, as Man. But quickened by the Spirit, that is, as God. For Spirit, in its name, means God; by the flesh, truly Man.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY TO THE INSTRUMENTALITY OF *πνεύματι*, 1 PETER III. 18, AND TO THE DEITY OF THE SPIRIT.

The principal Versions in the languages of Southern Europe all unite with Augustine, with the mediæval writers, and with King James's Bible in pronouncing *πνεύματι* both instrumental and divine.

*French Bible*, Paris, A.D. 1805: *Par l'Esprit*.

*Spanish*, A.D. 1872: *Por el Espiritu*.

*Spanish*—Baptist Version, A.D. 1858: *Por el Espiritu*.

*Portuguese*, A.D. 1871: *No Espirito*.

*Italian*, A.D. 1871: *Per lo Spirito*.

ENGLISH REFORMERS.

We now enter the happy period in which by God's great mercy the Church of England acquires mind, voice, literature, faith, worship, life, testimony of her own.

The English reformers most firmly retain and authoritatively perpetuate the explanation of 1 Peter iii. 18, 19 they inherited from the Vulgate, the Syriac, the Early Fathers, and the mediæval writers.



*John Wiclif.*

"For also crist vonys died for oure synnes, the just for unjust, that he schulde offre to god us: Made dede in fleisch, but made quyk in spirit.

"for which thing he cam in spirit, and also to hem that werun closid togidre in prisoun, prechid, whiche werun sumtyme unbileeful whanne thei abideden the paciens of god in the dayes of noye, whan the schip was made: in whiche a few that is to seye eigte soulis werun made saaf bi watir."—*Translation of New Testament from the Vulgate*, A.D. 1380.

The subsequent translators of the English Bible, and the compilers of the English Prayer-Book closely adhered to the judgment of the Early Fathers and the mediæval writers respecting the meaning of 1 Peter iii. 18, 19. If there were occasionally individual dissentients, their single notes were soon overwhelmed by the general acclamation which is still resounding over all lands and seas wherever the Version of King James is present. Some ears may not always hear this pervading testimony, because, like the unceasing voice of the ocean, it is never silent.

Among the Bibles published in England three centuries since, there are *three* which we desire to place in high prominence—the Bible of Thomas Matthews, A.D. 1537, the Bishops' Bible, A.D. 1568, and the Bible of King James I., A.D. 1611.

*Matthews' Bible.*

The Bible of Thomas Matthews has *captions to the chapters*, explaining their contents. We can be familiar with these captions of Matthews, as they still appear in all the later editions of our present English Bible.

His caption of 1 Peter iii. 19 is a declaration most remarkable and most important. Many persons may read it with surprise that it has so long escaped their notice. We would write its words in letters of fire, that the truth the declaration holds forth may catch all eyes, enlighten all minds, and engrave itself on all hearts. The ancient and

ever-living caption is this: "He declareth the benefits of Christ toward the old world."

"The old world" can be nothing else than *the antediluvians*. The only antediluvians in 1 Peter iii. 19 are "the spirits in prison." "The benefits of Christ toward the old world" was His preaching to these imprisoned spirits.

*This same caption* for 1 Peter iii. 19 appears in the Bible of King James I., A.D. 1611.

What vision is now before us? Matthews' Bible, authorized by Edward VI., and the Bible authorized by James I. authorize this interpretation of 1 Peter iii. 19: "The apostle Peter declareth [in this verse] the benefits of Christ toward the old world."

### *The Bishops' Bible.\**

The Bishops' Bible expressly rejects the interpretation of 1 Peter iii. 18, 19 which teaches any manner whatever of visit by our Lord to the abodes of the dead.

Most decided is its language of rejection, which we now transfer to these pages:

"*By the which*: Christ being from the beginning head and governour of his church *came in the daies of Noah, not in bodie, which then he had not, but in spirit*, and preached by the mouth of Noe for the space of 120 yeres to the disobedient, that would not repent."

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE AUTHORIZED BY THE CANONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

In the reign of James I., A.D. 1603, the Canons of the Church of England became the law of the Established Church. As these Canons *have never been repealed*, they are at the present time the law binding all the members of the English Church.

*Canon LXXX.* has this injunction: "If any parishes be yet unfurnished of *the Bible of the largest volume*, the

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\* *The Bishops' Bible*. Folio. "Imprinted at London by Chrystopher Barker, 1576."

church-wardens shall provide the same at the charge of the parish." \*

The Canons of the Church of England became the law of that church A.D. 1603. The Bible called King James's did not appear till A.D. 1611, *eight years after*. This difference of dates establishes this fact: "The Bible of the largest volume," required by Canon *Eighty* to be placed and read in every "parish" church, was *The Bishops' Bible*, folio, "imprinted at London, A.D. 1576."

*The Eightieth Canon* of the Church of England, by its approval of the Bishops' Bible, *also approves both of the explanation this Bible gives of 1 Peter iii. 18, 19, and of its caption* (taken from Matthews' Bible) of the passage, "The apostle Peter declareth the benefits of Christ toward the old world."

As the approval and authorization by King James and by the Bishops of the provinces of Canterbury and York of this textual explanation and caption *have never been formally withdrawn*,† THE EXPLANATION AND CAPTION BY THE BISHOPS' BIBLE OF 1 PETER III. 18, 19 REMAIN AT THIS DAY THE JUDGMENT AND INTERPRETATION BOTH OF THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND AND OF ITS ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

THE CAPTION OF MATTHEWS' BIBLE UNIVERSALLY RECEIVED.

The Bible of King James I., A.D. 1611, contains the caption to 1 Peter iii. 18, 19 which first appeared in the Bible of Thomas Matthews, A.D. 1537. For nearly three centuries has King James's Bible itself in its larger volumes held this declaration before the world. Millions of copies of this Bible have been published in England and these United States by private individuals, by associated firms, by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and by the American Bible Society. All these copies innumerable have been continually repeating and displaying this caption: "The

\* Hammond's Canons, p. 251.

† Perry's History of the Church of England, p. 380.

apostle Peter declareth Christ's benefits toward the old world."

#### THE EPISTLE FOR EASTER EVEN.

The words of S. Peter we are examining are in our Book of Common Prayer, a part of the Epistle for Easter Even.

The portion of S. Peter's First Epistle included in chapter iii., verses 17-22, is not to-day in any Christian Liturgy, as the Epistle for Easter Even, except in the Prayer-Book of the Church of England and in the Prayer-Book of her daughter in the United States of America. The Liturgy in which the portion first appeared was the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI., A.D. 1549.

The design the compilers of this Prayer-Book contemplated is determined by historical facts.

1. The compilers of the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. were the contemporaries and coadjutors of the translators of the Early English Bibles, and in several instances were *the same individuals*. The compilers of this Prayer-Book did not adopt 1 Peter iii. 17-22 as the Epistle for Easter Even in order to teach the mission of the human spirit of Christ, between His death and resurrection, to disembodied souls. The compilers believed in no such mission.

2. For centuries before the Reformation, Easter Even was the great season for administering Christian baptism. In 1 Peter iii. 21 this apostle magnifies the value of this sacrament. The compilers of the First Prayer-Book in the English language introduced the passage as Scripture most appropriate for the recognized anniversary occasion.

#### PRESENT OBLIGATION AND DUTY.

Have these incessantly reiterated proclamations uttered in our hearing, and these perpetually conspicuous records before our sight, now any authority?

1. Constituted as are the Government and Church of England, ecclesiastical enactments are expressions, records, publi-

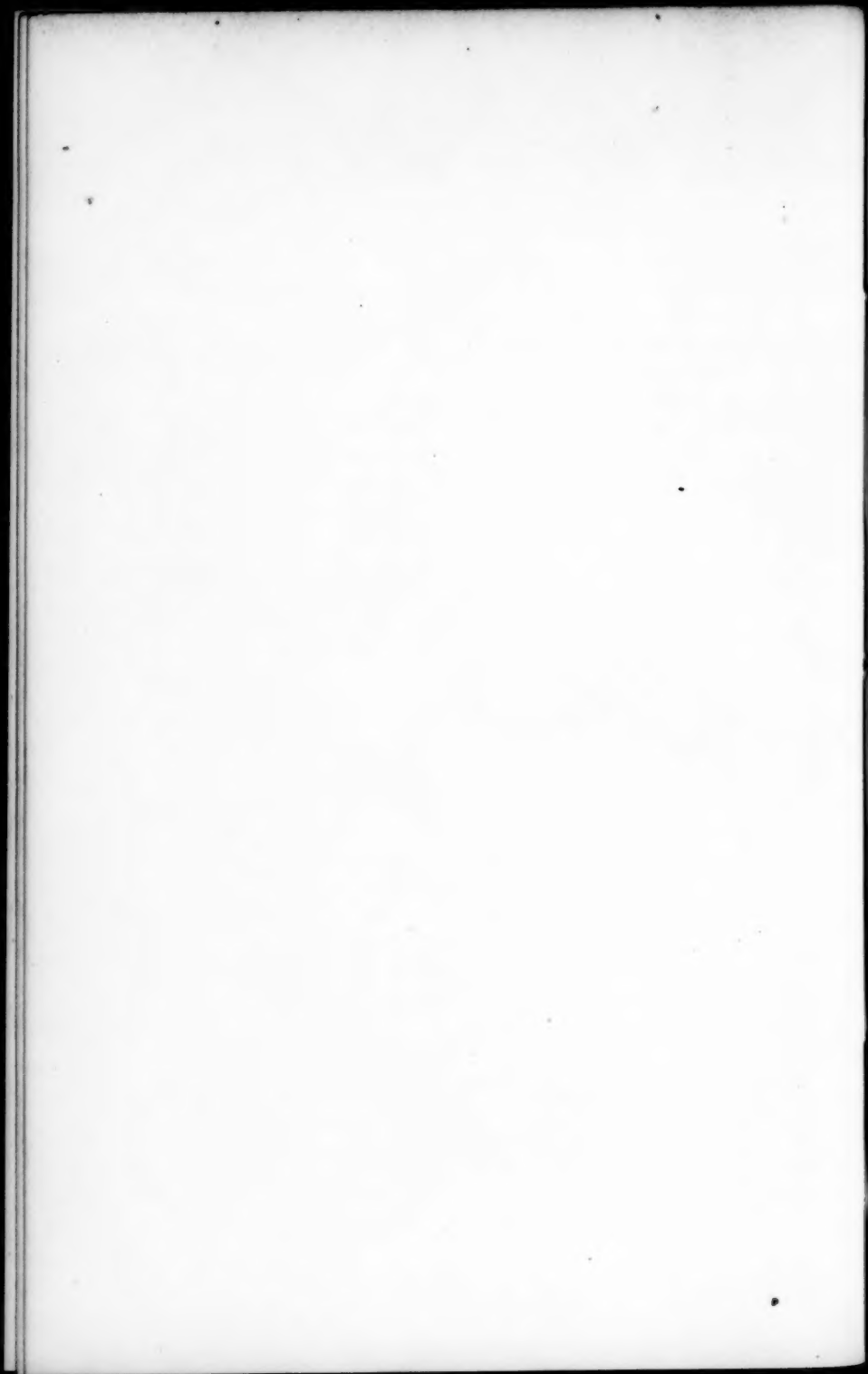
cations, perpetuations of the national mind. While the nation remains unaltered, its mind remains.

2. In the social and Christian systems into which God at our birth brings us, our individual consent to these existing institutions is not essential to the creation in us of personal obligation and obedience. These are the productions of God Himself. Since from Him, they impose upon us their own authority and create our duty.

3. These inherent obligations are accompanied by other requirements. The *opposite* of this assertion of our Sixth Article of religion, "Whatsoever is *not* read in Holy Scripture, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the Faith," *is most true*; namely, *Whatsoever is read in Holy Scripture, or may be proved by it, is required of every man to be believed as an article of the Faith.*

Present possessions, which can, in a visible and unbroken line, be traced backward, through all time, until they fasten themselves to the revealed throne Christ has erected and upholds in the world, must be inheritances not only valuable beyond all price, but unerring in their character, and binding and unceasing in their right to be revered and obeyed.

SAMUEL FULLER.



FEDERATE COUNCIL OF THE PROVINCE OF  
ILLINOIS. ESTABLISHED A.D. 1880.

*Journal of the First, Second, and Third Meetings, etc., with  
Historical Sketch of the Council. Published by Order of  
the Council.*

IF the American Church does not die of over-conservatism in regard to organic changes, nothing can kill her. Changes in regard to mere custom and usage are easy enough, and are adopted quite as readily as any one could desire ; but an *organic* change—in the Constitution, or still more in the Prayer-Book—is quite another thing.

From the organization of our National Church just after the Revolutionary war, it has been clearly foreseen that the having only one diocese in a State was as little likely to be permanent, as was the similar notion of having only one See in each petty kingdom of the Heptarchy (so-called). Multiplication of Bishops and Sees beyond *that* point, it was seen, *must* come, sooner or later, if the Church were not to be strangled by the want of Bishops enough to do the Episcopal part of the work as it *ought* to be done. Bishop



White foresaw it and foretold it. Bishop De Lancey—brought up under Bishop White—was the first to propose such a scheme, though at that early date nothing came of it. In 1861 the first Committee on the Division of the Diocese, appointed by Bishop Horatio Potter, reported *against* division, until a Provincial System should first be adopted. When Pennsylvania was first divided, Bishop Alonzo Potter strongly recommended some organic connection between the Dioceses in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The Committee on Division at the same time, of which Dr. Howe (now the Bishop of Central Pennsylvania) was chairman, reported strongly in favor of the same idea. In the same year (1865), on motion of the Rev. Dr. McVickar, the Diocese of New York by formal resolutions requested the General Convention to provide for the subdivision of the American Church into Provinces. The Church in the Confederate States, during the dark days of the Civil War, had the boldness and the wisdom to adopt the idea that "States" should be "Provinces" as soon as subdivisions of the original State Diocese made it possible. And the Pennsylvania suggestion—made through Dr. Howe—that a Federate Council might be established by the Dioceses in any one State, was actually embodied in a canon.

It seemed at first as if New York would lead the way in organizing under that canon; but finding that Virginia in General Convention knocked out the only valuable plank in the Provincial platform,—namely, that for a Court of Appeal,—the New York Provincial Synod adjourned in disgust, to meet again "at the call of the Bishop of New York." And that call has never since been issued. The New York "Provincial Synod" has ever since been "hung up to dry." Maryland made one slight movement, and then fell sound asleep. Pennsylvania—in the two new Dioceses—showed its readiness to organize; but the old Diocese by its obstinate indifference gave the movement a *quietus*, and whether a revival be now possible, remains to be seen. Wisconsin has made one feeble effort, and then all motion

stopped. Ohio has shown not the slightest tendency to an organization; neither has New Jersey. And yet the acknowledgment that something of the sort *must* be done is *universal*.

Now what is the *reason* of this? Why is it that a practical people like the Americans either cannot or will not hit upon some remedy for *admitted* evils? It is because there is an undefined feeling that we are somehow on the wrong track, and are in danger of making some great mistake, though nobody sees exactly *how*. They therefore feel it to be *safer* to wait a while longer, until the matter shall be clearer in their own minds, before applying a remedy.

The first *muddle* we have fallen into is, in mistaking the *Diocese* to be the ultimate ecclesiastical *unit*—inherently possessed of *all* ecclesiastical power, except what it has voluntarily ceded to the General Convention. Unless we can correct this primary blunder, we shall never get straight. The union of Church and State throughout all Christendom for so many ages, together with the rejection of the Papal tyranny and usurpation, *necessarily* led to the conclusion that the Church within any independent civil jurisdiction was a unit in itself, in regard to all matters of legislation on discipline and worship. This made the Church in the United States of America a unit, as the United States themselves were a National unit. But on our American system the States were also, *each* of them, separate units though "United,"—having *each* its own legislature, judiciary, and executive. As, at the first, there were only a very few clergy in each State (except Virginia and Maryland), while some of the States had none at all, it was natural that at first each *State* should become a *Diocese*, with a Bishop of its own, and a Diocesan Synod or Convention, possessing *all* legislative power, subject to that of the General Convention, and all judicial power also.

In our early and very feeble days this may have been well enough, because we could do no better. But when in 1835 it was seen that the great State *Diocese* of New York must be di-

vided, the first important mistake was made. And this was in looking upon *Diocesan* boundaries, which are wholly ecclesiastical, as the fundamental lines of organization; instead of remembering that the Church *within certain civil boundaries* is an *ecclesiastical* unit. For instance, New York as a *State* is still one undivided *State*, with its *one* State Legislature, its *one* State Governor, its *one* State Judiciary, with a properly graduated system of appeals. But the Church within the State of New York is no longer such an organized unit. It has *five* Dioceses, *five* separate and independent legislatures or Conventions, with *five* separate constitutions and codes of Canons, *five* different judiciary systems, with *no* organic connection or system of appeals whatsoever, and *five* Bishops, no one of whom is entitled to any headship over the others, except so far as precedence may be accorded to mere seniority of consecration. It is the same thing, in other words, as if New York had been divided into *five States*, whereas she has not been divided at all.

The wrong principle was introduced in 1838, when those alterations of the Constitution were completed which the subdivision of New York seemed to require. The new *general principle* did not then affect any Diocese except New York; nor was any other Diocese touched by it until Pennsylvania subdivided twenty-seven years after. This fact made it the easier to consummate a change which—if not corrected by a true Provincial system based on State lines—will prove eventually disastrous to the American Church. That false general principle was couched in those most *un-American* words: "Strike out the word '*States*' wherever it occurs (except where it follows the word '*United*') and insert in lieu of the word '*States*' the word '*Dioceses*.'" This is the only *un-American* thing our Church has ever done. It was done for want of due reflection. It must be *undone* again by the recognition of the united Dioceses in any one State as forming *one province*. And then the evils now anticipated from the subdivision of Dioceses will be *seen to be imaginary*.

The present system—or rather *want* of system—is clearly all wrong. The *Church*, within the bounds of the *State* of New York, ought to be, by its visible organization, as distinct and complete a *unit* as the *State* itself is a civil unit. The fundamental principle by which the Church accommodates her machinery to the great *civil* divisions of the country, is now departed from in a manner which produces increasing difficulty. The particular grouping of counties which constitutes the Diocese of Western New York *ecclesiastically*, is a grouping utterly unknown to the civil government for any purpose whatsoever; and so it is also with *all* our Dioceses which are *not* conterminous with *States*.

What is the true remedy? Shall we have only one Diocese in a State? By no means. Bishops and Dioceses *must* be multiplied as fast as they reasonably *can* be, in order the more vigorously and steadily to absorb the bulk of the population into the Church. But we must give up the *false* idea that the *Diocese* is our normal ecclesiastical *unit* of legislative and judicial power. We must remember that the Church within the bounds of any one State *is* such a unit, no matter how many *Dioceses* or *Bishops* it may contain. And with this true idea in our minds we must try, as we have opportunity, to “pick up the dropped stitch,” and correct the errors of the past.

Our true growth has, indeed, been *doubly* hindered. First, the instinctive feeling of State unity, strengthened by the traditions of the original Diocese, which in all cases was conterminous with the State, shrinks obstinately and as long as possible from the idea of *division*. The multiplication of Bishops and Sees has thus been wonderfully *hindered* by an instinct which is right and true in itself, but which has not yet found the right form of embodiment, and which therefore hinders true growth instead of helping it. And secondly, when the obvious necessity has forced the erection of a new Diocese, the error of making as complete a severance from the old as if the State itself had been divided into two States, has weakened that original bond of *unity*

with all the rest of the Church within State boundaries, which if carefully preserved, as it *ought* to have been, would have been *the very element* of consolidated energy, stability, and power which we are searching for.

The chief points in which the weakness is felt are as to *legislation* and *judicial* action.

Of these two the present need is *least* felt as to legislation. By our present Constitution the entire legislation of the old Diocese is *continued over* to the new, as a matter of course. And though, after organization is complete, each has entire legislative power independently of the other, yet they very seldom use it to any great extent. The old Diocese goes on with its old Constitution and Canons; and the new Diocese is just as much used to them as the old, and not much more likely to change merely for change's sake. Notwithstanding their theoretical independence of one another, therefore, the bulk of their legislation is *practically* joint legislation. The need of picking up the dropped stitch in this department, therefore, though *real*, is not so pressing as in the other—the *judicial* department.

This judicial department is, notoriously, our weakest point—that in which our crude arrangements are becoming day by day more intolerable. And to this the main burden of this article will be devoted.

As long ago as 1850 the first Bishop of Vermont began his labors for a Court of Appeals, which were never intermitted for any great length of time during the whole remainder of his life. The Hon. Murray Hoffman and many others were noble laborers in the same field. They had prepared for the work by previously carrying an amendment in Article 6 of the Constitution, changing "shall" to "may," with the idea that this would enable the General Convention to accomplish the result. But when the change was adopted, the ingenuity of Virginia—an ingenuity chiefly manifested in the work of *obstruction*—insisted that the change was not sufficient to legitimize the very object for which it was made. The disputed point of the admissibility of negro evidence

in the troublous times of 1859 shelved the whole subject once more, when it seemed to be on the very eve of success. In the poverty-stricken skeleton of Provincial powers, proposed by New York in 1871 for the approval of the General Convention, the only live plank in the platform was that which referred to a Court of Appeals. New York proposed that her *Federate Council* should have "full power to deliberate and decide on all matters pertaining to the establishment of an Appellate Court, to which, under the Canons of any particular Diocese, appeal may be made from the decision of any Diocesan Court in said State." But this provision—under the opposition of Virginia reasoning—the General Convention *declined* to approve, "for the reason that Article 6 of the Constitution confers upon *each Diocese* in said State [it was originally "every State"] the power to institute the mode of trying presbyters and deacons therein, including a Court of Appeals, if such Diocese elects to institute such tribunal for itself; and whether such Appellate Court shall also be the Appellate Court of any other of the Dioceses in said State, is a matter of discretion and concurrent choice on the part of the Conventions of such other Dioceses respectively."

This refusal of General Convention to approve of the establishment of an Appellate Court by the direct and sole action of the Federate Council, was a stunning blow. It knocked the Federate Council of New York into a fit of unconsciousness, and it has "never yet come out of it."

The next effort toward the formation of a real Federate Council was not made until six years after, when Illinois took up the unfinished ideal, and determined to make out of it all that could be made. The present Bishop of Illinois, in proposing to his Convention the subdivision of the Diocese into three, accompanied it with an admirable historical sketch of the various steps of the Provincial movement, and most earnestly urged the maintenance of the unity of the whole State of Illinois in the proper form of an ecclesiastical *Province*. His advice was followed. The Conventions of

Quincy and Springfield, as well as that of Illinois, formed their Federate Council and made a draft of the powers which they proposed that it should exercise. This draft came before the General Convention of 1880. The first of the proposed powers was: "The *organizing* and *administering* an Appellate Court for adjudicating cases brought before it by appeal from the courts of the Dioceses within the limits of the State of Illinois; the mode of procedure having been *first instituted* by the several Dioceses, under the permission already granted by Article 6 of the Constitution of the General Convention."

This, it will be seen, was different from the proposal of New York, which set out to give to the Federate Council the power of "establishing" an Appellate Court; whereas General Convention declared that the power to "*institute* the mode of trying presbyters and deacons" belonged to the *Dioceses*, and could not be taken from them and given to the Federate Council. Illinois conformed her action *exactly* to the words of General Convention, and proposed that the mode of procedure should be "*first instituted* by the several Dioceses." But when thus "*instituted*" or established by Diocesan canons, Illinois proposed that the Federate Council should do "*the organizing and administering*" of the said Court. And this would have been perfectly legitimate. The House of Deputies in 1880 again and again signified its approval; but the House of Bishops took another view. In the majority report signed by the Bishops of Easton and Central Pennsylvania, the ground is boldly taken, that in *all* cases "*the ultimate* resort is to the Bishop of the Diocese." They "*search in vain . . . for any indication that a clergyman is amenable to any other authority than his own Bishop, or that when a Diocesan Court has pronounced its judgment there is room for the interposition of any revising power, save the Bishop himself.*" Under this leadership the House of Bishops—unmoved by a very clear, strong, and satisfactory minority report by the Bishop of Illinois—obstinately refused to approve the above



"power" for "organizing and administering" the Appellate Court.

Now just here is one point that needs to be insisted on very strongly and very clearly. It seems to be the settled determination of the great body of the Bishops to permit the organization of *no* Appellate system by which the decision of *any* one Bishop can possibly be overruled. Each is to be so far a Pope in his own Diocese that his decrees shall be "irreformable." They have made the fight quietly, doggedly, stubbornly. There is an apparent effort to cultivate such an *esprit de corps* among them as will make them stand by one another, to shield one another in encroaching upon the rights of clergy and people. And this is inwoven with that carefully cultivated *secrecy* in the mode of consultation and operation which is more and more alienating the confidence of the Church at large.

Now it is high time to tell the Bishops, as an Order, that *this thing won't do!* It is directly in the teeth of the entire canonical system of the Primitive Church, by which *any* Bishop's decision, about *any* thing, could be appealed from to the Bishops of the Province assembled in council, and sitting *with open doors*, so that all the world might know the fairness and regularity of *all* the proceedings. It is the Episcopate, *as an order*, that has received power from Christ. That power is held *in solidum* and not in severalty. In *every* official act there is a responsibility on the part of *every* Bishop to the judgment of his brethren; and the Church *must* contrive some practical way to get the benefit of it. The idea that each Bishop is, by himself, such an irresponsible despot that his decisions are "irreformable" by any power short of divine interference, is an utterly intolerable idea. Any Court of Appeal upon whose decisions the Bishop appealed *from* shall have an absolute *veto*, is a *sham*.

However, to return to our historical sketch. In the January after the last General Convention the Illinois Federate Council went to work. The only part of that work

which gave rise to any controversy was in regard to an Appellate Court. They did not undertake to "establish" such a court, for the General Convention, in the New York case, had told them they had no power to do it. They did not propose to "organize and administer" any such court; for the refusal of the House of Bishops to approve *that*, made it unwise to try it, whether the House of Bishops were right or wrong. All they undertook to do was to act like a committee in preparing a draft of a canon which was to be suggested to the three Dioceses, in the hope that *by identical action* the desired court could be "instituted, organized, and administered" by the *legislative* power of the *Dioceses alone*. By its own power the Federate Council did not "establish" the court; nor in the draft which it proposed was there *any act at all* to be done hereafter by the Federate Council either in "organizing" or in "administering" the court. The work would be complete by the legislative power of the Dioceses, from the moment when all three Dioceses should have acted.

Let us then examine the provisions of this canon—which, having been adopted by the Dioceses, is now *law*. It is the first Court of Appeals in our American Church extending to more than one Diocese.

At the very beginning we meet with one of the toughest points to be settled. Who shall be the judges of such a court? In England the idea prevails that the judges should be men "learned in the law"—which the Bishops generally are *not*. But as Ecclesiastical Courts may sometimes involve decisions upon doctrinal points, the English plan is that this court of lay lawyers should have some Bishops as assessors, who should help them to the theology that may be needed. But even then the lay judges would not be *required* to embody in their judgment the theology furnished them by the Bishops; so that the highest officers of the Church might be exposed to contempt by mere laymen, and that in matters purely spiritual.

Another plan would be to make the Bishops judges not

only of theology, but also of legal points, whether they knew anything about them or not; and the Episcopal order would thus be exposed to contempt by the ignorance of its own members touching legal matters in which they had had no special training.

The Illinois Canon carefully avoids both these dangers. It preserves the dignity of the Episcopate *doubly*. For first it provides, in its opening words, that "The Bishops of the Province shall be the Judges." This is purely primitive. It gives the Bishops their old original position. *Episcopatus unus est*. The Bishops of the Province—representing the *collective* Episcopate—can revise or overrule, on appeal, *any* act of *any* one of their own number, in their Province. In appealing from the judgment of one Bishop in his Diocesan Court, or administering his Diocesan affairs, it would be abhorrent to *all* primitive principles, and it would be abhorrent to the primary instincts of American Churchmen, to see the Bishop's formal judgment overruled by priests or laymen. The appeal *must* be from the judgment of *one* Bishop to the judgment of *more than one*. In this there is no loss of dignity or prestige, while there *is* an increase of breadth, strength, and sound authority.

But are the Bishops, then, to be made sole judges of law, canonical interpretation, complicated historical inquiries, admissibility of evidence, and the whole range of technical points, the proper treatment of which requires the technical training of an expert? This would be a poor way to protect the dignity of the Bishops, who would be exposed, if not compelled, to make fools of themselves, by giving judgment on innumerable points which they did not understand, and could not reasonably be expected to understand. They are therefore protected on this side of their work by a body of *Assessors*, who shall kindly take it off their hands.

One clerical and one lay Assessor will be elected, by ballot, by each Diocesan Convention (a majority in *each* order being necessary to an election). It may be taken for granted that the clergymen elected will be those who are

known to have given the most attention to Canon Law, and that the lay Assessors will be lawyers of good standing. But it may happen (though not often) that a Bishop and his Convention may not be in harmony, and that the Convention may choose persons in whom the Bishop has no confidence. Yet it is *right* that, in a matter of so much moment, the Bishop should have the benefit of the advice of persons in whom he *has* confidence. It is to meet cases of this sort (doubtless, very rare in practice) that the canon provides, *besides* the elected Assessors, that "each Bishop *may*, if he please, appoint one additional clerical or lay Assessor, or both."

And now, what are these Assessors to do? Are they merely to give advice, which the Bishops may disregard, if they will? No. This would only give the Bishops a chance to make worse fools of themselves than if they had no good advice to go by. These Assessors are to have *power* to decide *all* questions except the final and chief one. "*All* interlocutory questions shall be decided by the Assessors, or a majority of them." Those who have the knowledge, have also the power of *deciding*, within the range of that knowledge. The Bishops *cannot* expose themselves to ridicule or contempt by wrong decisions in such technical matters, for they will have nothing to decide. When all these things are settled by the Assessors, however, and the time has come for deciding the main question, *that* is in the hands of the Bishops *alone*: "The final decision touching the admission or rejection of the Appeal, or the granting a new trial, shall be given by the *Bishops alone*." In this the dignity of their Order, and its chiefly in discipline from the beginning, are recognized with a truly primitive simplicity and absoluteness.

And yet, even here, there is a further provision for protecting the rights of clergy and laity, for the Bishops are required to give "the grounds of their decision, in writing, *seriatim*." By this means the Bishops, if—notwithstanding all the care taken to keep them straight—they shall give

wrong judgment, or wrong reasons for it, may have to run the gauntlet of public criticism in a manner wholesome for its general good effect on subsequent decisions. And this is no small safeguard in a country where public opinion is as free and as powerful as it is in America.

"The Presiding Judge of the Court shall be the Bishop selected to preside in the Federate Council;" but "in no case shall the Presiding Judge of the Appellate Court be the Bishop from whose decision the appeal is made." This does not give to the Federate Council the power of appointing the president; but it merely accepts *an act already done* by the Federate Council, and done without *any* reference to an Appellate Court. Moreover, it is modified by two other specified contingencies, in *either* of which the presiding judge will be some *other* Bishop than the one who presides in the Federate Council.

In regard to the cases in which an appeal is allowed, this pioneer canon on the subject is more defective than in any other particular. It gives an appeal *only* to "any person who has been found guilty of an offense by the Ecclesiastical Court of the Diocese to which he may belong." Now ecclesiastical trials are very rare among us. It is safe to say that at least *nine tenths* of the grievances which are felt in the administration of our Church affairs are *not* cases that come before any "Ecclesiastical Court" whatever. The original draft of that canon was right in this respect. It gave an appeal to "any person, clerical or lay, claiming to be aggrieved by the action of any Ecclesiastical Authority of any Diocese in the Province." This was struck out, and the present poor little restricted appeal was inserted in its place, on motion of the Bishop of Illinois. But further reflection has convinced him of his mistake; and his last address to his Convention contains an elaborate and unanswerable argument in favor of the enlarged appeal. We hope that before long it may be restored to the canon by the identical action of the three Dioceses.

One other great principle is embodied in this canon. The

Bishop from whose decision the Appeal is made is *not* regarded as having a *veto* upon the decision of the court. Its finding is *mandatory* upon him: "If the decision shall award a new trial, in whole or in part, the Bishop *shall* take measures for such trial, in accordance with the canons of the Diocese concerned. In all other cases the Bishop *shall* proceed to final decision and judgment, not exceeding in severity the finding of the original court." That is right. It cuts up what the Bishop of Illinois calls "Diocesan papalism" by the roots.

These, then, are the great principles embodied in the Illinois Canon:

1. That the Bishops of the Province shall be the Judges.
2. That they alone shall decide as to the admission or rejection of the Appeal or the granting a new trial.
3. That they shall decide no other question but this chief and final one.
4. That they shall have Assessors of the Clergy and Laity, elected by the Diocesan Conventions.
5. That these Assessors shall decide all interlocutory questions.
6. That the Bishops shall give their decision in writing, *seriatim*.
7. That their decision is mandatory, and not subject to the veto of the Bishop appealed from.

So far, so good. But there are other points in which this canon falls short, and which ought not to be left unnoticed, however much we may rejoice and be thankful at what has been happily accomplished.

First of all is the restricted appeal, which is granted only to one "who has been found guilty of an offense by the Ecclesiastical Court of the Diocese to which he may belong." This reduces the benefits of a Court of Appeal to a minimum. Suppose, for instance, that a Priest of the Diocese of Quincy should be called as Rector of a parish in Chicago, and the Bishop of Illinois, not liking him, should refuse to accept his Letter Dimissory, though by the canon it would

clearly be his duty to do so. (Of course we make the supposition merely for argument's sake; and even so, we ask pardon of the Bishop of Illinois for taking the imaginary liberty.) As this would not be any act of "the Ecclesiastical Court" of the Diocese of Quincy, the injured Priest would have no right to go before a Court of Appeal, and would have to submit to the injustice. Suppose a Bishop should inhibit a Priest from officiating in his Diocese, and should do it without just cause, there would be no appeal. Suppose a Standing Committee of one of the Dioceses should vote to reject all applicants for reception as Candidates for Orders who had red hair or a cast in the eye, or who were as bald as Elisha, there would be no possible redress for the intolerable and capricious tyranny—none at least by the terms of this canon. Suppose a layman, strongly disliked both by his Rector and his Bishop, and suspended from the Holy Communion—where could he get justice by the terms of this canon? It will meet not *one tenth part* of the cases where it will be most pressingly *needed*.

This defect may—we strongly hope that it *will*—be remedied, as we have suggested, by the voluntary and identical action of the three Dioceses in the Province, so that what they have done may be made a more complete model for the action of other Provinces hereafter.

But something needs to be said about the manner in which this canon has become law in the Province of Illinois.

The refusal of General Convention to consider the word "may" as meaning anything different from "shall" in Article 6 of the Constitution, was unfortunate—to say the least. Its refusal of the New York proposal for "establishing" a Court of Appeals by the Federate Council of the Province, was a little worse. Its refusal to approve the Illinois proposal to "organize and administer" an Appellate Court when first "instituted by the several Dioceses," was the meanest and smallest business of all. And yet the result has been *substantially* just what they wished to prevent. They wished to prevent *Provincial* action on the subject.



But what is a "Province," except the Dioceses in any one State acting together? What difference does it make, in the end, whether the three Dioceses act together in one body, gathered together in one place at one time; or whether they act in different places and at different times, provided that all, as Dioceses, agree to the same thing? It is indeed much *easier*, as a general rule, to secure united action when assembled in one body, than when deliberating in different places and bodies and at different times. And because much easier, it is, generally speaking, far preferable. But if the three *do* agree in enacting the same thing, it is *practically* Provincial action all the same. And it would be the part of true wisdom to provide for the doing of it in the easiest and most permanent way. In the present case, Quincy and Springfield adopted the identical canon suggested and recommended by the Federate Council; and the Bishops of those Sees reported the fact accordingly at the third meeting of the Federate Council. The Bishop of Illinois, in reporting the action of *his* Convention on the subject, says that it did "decline to adopt the proposed canon for the creation of an Appellate Court in connection with such Federate Council." And there he stops. This is hardly straightforward, when the *fact* is that his Convention adopted a canon so far identical with the others that it is *impossible* to work it differently in *any* detail whatsoever. And in his last Conventional Address the Bishop informs his clergy and laity that,

"In accordance with the provisions of the canon on an Appellate Court, passed by the last Convention, I requested the Bishops of the Dioceses within the State of Illinois to select one of their number to be the presiding judge of said court, and I hereby notify the Convention that the choice, taken by ballot, fell upon the Rt. Rev. Alexander Burgess, D.D., Bishop of Quincy."

Bishop Burgess was already the President of the Appellate Court, by the Quincy and Springfield Canon. The substantial identity of the two is absolute. The "connection with the

Federate Council," so persistently reiterated by the Bishop of Illinois, is all moonshine. There *is* no such "connection." The Federate Council is not called on to perform any act, however slight, with reference to the Appellate Court. *All* has been provided for by the Dioceses in their identical Diocesan Canon. It would have been more candid, as well as more graceful, in the Bishop of Illinois, when reporting the action of his Convention, to have stated fully and fairly *what they did* on that subject; especially as the Canon which they *did* adopt required the action of the *three* Bishops in selecting the President of the *Illinois* Court of Appeal.

Yet—though the action of the three, substantially identical, *is* Provincial action—it would be wiser and better that the three should have been able to act as one body, rather than as three separate, distinct, and independent bodies. As things are now, some persons may claim that as each Diocese acted separately, any one of them, acting separately, may break up the Appellate Court. This would not be correct. For when each has acted in a way to take effect only when "the other Dioceses in the State of Illinois co-operate, and those other Dioceses *do* co-operate, the accomplished action, in all honor, binds all *three*, and no one or two of them can change it thenceforward. But it leaves some ground open for raising a question that might make trouble in days of excitement. It would have been better, therefore, that the Province could have acted as one body.

And in looking forward to the future it should always be an objective point to secure full legislative power for the Provincial Synod, subordinate, of course, to that of the General Convention. The separate Dioceses—when less in size than an entire State—do not need such power, and ought not to have it. It would be as foolish to clothe various groups of counties with the entire powers of the legislature of the whole State. Dignity, strength, prestige, wisdom, are all frittered away by thus conferring this high power upon such multitudes of petty Dioceses.

Moreover, *on principle*, we ought to object to any legisla-

tion in the Church without the express consent of the Episcopate as an Order. In the ancient Councils of the Church, whether Ecumenical or National or Provincial, the Bishops had the sole power of giving a definitive vote. They always sat with open doors, indeed, and with full right of discussion enjoyed and exercised by priests, deacons, and people. When the Bishops voted, moreover, they voted as giving the preponderant voice of all; so that the result differed more in form than in substance from a "vote by Orders" of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, as given among us now. But to say that the Clergy and Laity shall have power to make the laws, and that the Bishops *as an Order* shall have *no vote at all*, is going entirely too far in the other direction. There is among us Americans no small jealousy of the "one-man power;" and this makes it hard to obtain, in most of the Dioceses, the separate Episcopal vote, or "veto," as it is called. But when several Dioceses are united there would be no difficulty at all in securing to the Bishops of the Province a separate vote as a "House of Bishops." All our legislation would thus become symmetrical and harmonious, and be brought into closer correspondence with the legislation of the Primitive Church. In the General Convention the House of Bishops has its separate vote, while both the Clergy and the Laity have theirs. In our Provincial Synods it would be the same. In the Primitive Church, the Bishops legislated, not without the consent of the Clergy and Laity. Among us, the Clergy and Laity would legislate, not without the express consent of the Bishops as an Order. Our American novelty of a Constitution and Code of Canons for each Diocese, no matter how small, would gradually disappear. The Catholic Church in its purer days knew nothing of any legislation by anything *smaller* than a Provincial Synod.

There is one other point not yet satisfactorily settled in Illinois, and that is, the Presidency of the Province. The Bishop of Illinois is both the Bishop of the Metropolis and the senior Bishop by consecration, but he is not the Presi-

dent of the Province. Both the other Bishops, however, are much his seniors in the ministry of the Church and in experience of Church affairs, and the Bishop of Quincy is his senior in age also. The primitive rule, as everywhere recognized except in North Africa, would make the Bishop of Chicago the Metropolitan of the Province *as a matter of course*. The reason for this is, that it is most convenient for the business of the Province that it should be so. People from all over Illinois *must* go to Chicago; while the necessity of their going to Springfield is not so great, and their need of going to Quincy is less than either of the others. Yet the Bishop of Quincy is the President of the Federate Council,—and a very good President he makes. Had the course of the Bishop of Illinois been less obstructive, perhaps it would have been easier to apply the primitive rule. It is by no means improbable that we shall see it established there before many years are past.

To conclude: Though the work done in Illinois is not in all respects what we could wish, and while we could have desired that the mode of accomplishing it had been more direct, yet the thanks of the whole Church are due to Illinois for establishing and putting into full operation the *First Province* in the Church of America, and the first *Court of Appeal* on this side of the water, provided for more Dioceses than one. For this last there is special need. The principles embodied in the Illinois Canon are better guarded and more safely balanced than in any other Ecclesiastical Court of Appeal anywhere in the world. The more rapidly our Bishops make up their mind to follow (or improve on) the model set in Illinois, the better will it be all round. When one Bishop has one tenth of his clergy under inhibition at one and the same time, with no prospect of a fair hearing, much less of any redress; and when another Bishop has been dragged before the civil courts for libel, and cast in ten thousand dollars damages, to say nothing of costs: the Bishops as an Order, *if they have any brains*, must soon come to the conclusion that their present attitude of refus-

ing to consent to *any* appeal from their individual action *cannot be maintained*. They will also very unanimously come to the conclusion that it is safer and better that the mistakes of one Bishop should be kindly and fraternally corrected by *his own Right Reverend Brethren*, than that he should run the risk of being ruthlessly knocked over the head with the slung-shot of a \$10,000 verdict by a Presbyterian Judge and a Baptist Jury, while the general tone of public opinion, as expressed by the free press of a free country, seems to be rather a chuckle of satisfaction, and a pretty unanimous chorus of "Served him right!" There is no reasonable prospect of avoiding such rough casualties except by an Appellate Court, and the sooner the remedy is applied the better.

We cannot close without a word concerning the unique *Journal* of the Federate Council, whose title stands at the head of this article. It gives, first, the Constitution of the Federate Council of the Province of Illinois. Next follow in order the minutes of the three meetings that have already been held, including the proposed Canon of an Appellate Court, and the action of two of the Dioceses thereupon. Then follows a *Historical Sketch* in which an account is given of the whole provincial movement, from Bishop White's suggestion, and Bishop Delancey's motion in 1850 onward. Mention is made of the action of New York in 1861 and 1865, of the Bishop of New Jersey's plan set forth in 1872, of the Bishop of Minnesota's suggestion in 1874, of the action of Illinois as early as 1867, of the admirable Report of Dr. Mahan in Maryland in the same year: all of these being taken from Bishop McLaren's Convention Address in 1877. Every step of the subsequent action is also given, both in Illinois and in General Convention—the latter including the two *Reports* presented in the House of Bishops on the subject of an Appellate Court. The majority report is signed by the Bishops of Easton and Central Pennsylvania, and the minority report by Bishop McLaren. The latter thoroughly demolishes the former. An *Appendix* gives a list

and some account of Church *Institutions* within the Province of Illinois.

No part of the Church has suffered as much of injustice and hindrance and undeserved abuse as Illinois. She has nobly repaid it all by setting the model in the *necessary* re-organization of the American Church into Provinces. All honor to Illinois!

J. H. HOPKINS.





## THE REFORMATION AND MEDIÆVALISM.

THE time is approaching, if not already at hand, when the Reformation will be thrown into perspective. For more than three centuries it has so stood before progressive philosophy, and consequently evolving theology,—in the West at least,—that it has failed to appear in its due relation to other great eras of revolution. It has been too young hitherto to be considered as a matured movement. Its principle of power, its distinctive force, and its vital and vitalizing energy have entered into the whole course of “modern progress.” In all departments of modern occidental development the primary principle of the Reformation has been the axiom upon which has been builded up every system of practical or theoretical philosophy; while the immense flood of Protestant theology has drawn almost all its various currents from it, as from a flowing geyser. Indeed, a very large and widely influential body of theologians, called by all the names of the “Christian sects,” teach and seem to think that the whole body of the truth, every essential fact and doctrine of the Gospel, with the

very perfect evangelical principle itself, all proceed from the Reformation. They look upon the period as one of resurrection from the dead. There may have been life before, but not immediately before—not for some centuries indeed; and even then it was a life not to be compared in vitality and truthful power to that which uprose at the Reformation, and has since evolved itself.

While modern philosophy, considered as distinct from theology, does not manifest any special reverence for the religious part of the revolution of the sixteenth century, it, equally with theology, dates the beginning of its vast development and wide diffusion to that period. It is willing to allow that the first manifestation of the movement was religious; but claims that the real force was one of those reactionary waves which every great era of progress exhibits, on which all human interest and ideas are carried forward together in a general advance.

Both philosophy and theology, in their modern forms, therefore, date from the Reformation; and not only so, but are yet permeated by its distinctive characteristics, and either avowedly or the contrary, consciously or unconsciously, stand upon it as upon a foundation.

It is not to be expected that those whose principles of thought, methods of expression, and systems of procedure cling radically to the Reformation and draw thence the sap of their vitality can be induced to regard it duly in its relation to other great changes in the course of progress. They have settled in their minds that it was unique and complete; that, unlike every other revolution, it took up not one neglected truth and brought it forth into prominence and power, but builded anew all truth's varied gems together, making a structure large enough to hold mankind, with ample room to grow.

All who stand thus viewing the Reformation cannot see it in perspective. Many will not attempt to do so; some because they dare not, and others because they care not to climb out of the ways and habits of modern thought up to

the point where it may be seen in position among the other historic revolutions.

Nor can any one attempt now to throw the Reformation into this perspective without running great risks. He will be misapprehended even by sincere and honest thinkers; while the immense majority of both modern philosophers and theologians will be unable to understand him. The latter will suspect his intentions, and perhaps charge him with the design of leading back innocent or unstable souls into the darkness of Mediaevalism; while the former will wonder at him, or serenely ignore him, as if he were an anachronism, trying to live himself in the tomb of the buried past, and to induce others to step down also out of the glorious splendor of the day into darkness, which is all the deeper because self-chosen.

The fact, however, is none the less a fact, that the Reformation was a simple era of one idea, and that it has now evolved that idea, both philosophically and theologically, until it has ripened and hardened. It stands, at this period of the present, as a completely developed and fully evolved, one, distinctive historical fact. It is still, indeed, a power; but, like all radical forces when organized and fully put forth, it has become conservative. It has established itself and holds position now behind its defences. It has reached that period wherein it must make good its right to continued existence.

It may be safely allowed that the Reformation was not solely religious. It was an occasion that marked an era of general reaction. Mankind had gone as long as they possibly could along one line. It had been a line of progress, but one that had come to its natural end. It had begun amid the confusion which succeeded success in the "irruption of the barbarians." All Europe had gone through the disturbances incident to violent disruption of the ancient civilization. The necessities of political and social order, indeed the existence itself of nations and society, demanded effective reconstruction. Anarchy threatened everything.

Law and order must be restored, or every interest would proceed in downward course, through lower and lower levels of disorder, until universal discord would prevail. It happened that the Church was then the best organized and most widely diffused power in existence. The Bishop of Rome, though not the autocrat he has since become, was the most prominent single sovereign known. He claimed at once spiritual suzerainty, and very soon added a local kingship. The latter gave him a refuge and a status among the temporal powers; while the former enabled him from his safe retreat to exert influence and exercise power over persons and organizations through all the West. He duly estimated the situation and threw his vast weight into the scale of order. Although the whole succession of Mediæval Popes pursued one course, and devoted themselves to the development, as far as practicable, of the idea of universal spiritual supremacy; yet this, upon the whole, promoted organization and tended toward general order; for the powers that opposed the Papacy could not be successful in anarchy, and were hence compelled to promote social and political concentrations and to enlarge them by combinations. Out of this conflict came the comparatively stable organisms of political Europe, with their fixed gradations in society; while over against them stood the wonderful hierarchy of Rome, with the Pope, or as he likes to be styled, the Holy Father, at its head. Though these two organic systems—the one political and the other sacerdotal—were distinct from each other and often in conflict, they both coincided in fundamental principle. Through this principle they had saved Europe from anarchy and had made human progress possible by affording protection to society. They had, however, at the same time engrafted Orientalism upon the West by crushing remorselessly and grinding down under the armed heel of temporal dominion, and the no less oppressive tread of spiritual tyranny, the principle of individualism, with the consequent personal rights of man. Had they remained in power European civilization might not

indeed have died out utterly; but it would have been a reproduction merely of the civilization of Asia. The State and the Church would have been the only living powers. The one would have held every man's body, with all his possessions, in the iron bands of political subserviency; while the other would have enslaved his conscience, and hence made him in spirit recognize God's supremacy only in a Divine vice-regency, existing in temporal form and holding every man's salvation in its official keeping.

The enervated peoples of Asia can rest under such organic tyranny, or rather they do rest under it, in a kind of unstable equilibrium, having resisted many times in vain. Their resistance has been in vain, however, because they never have conceived that principle of reaction which can alone prevail. They never had an idea of individualism. They know even yet next to nothing of the personal rights of man. They have had rebellions innumerable, and revolutions not a few, but these have always resulted in merely substituting one organic tyranny for another. Asiatics seem incapable of conceiving the possible conjunction of personal freedom with social and political stability. Hence they remain content with organic union, and may continue indefinitely their now venerable one-sidedness; only repeating, as occasions arise, their attempts to remove intolerable evils, by setting forward new revolutions to end with the same old deficient organisms.

The peoples of the West could not be orientalized. They submitted to lords and priests first, and then to kings and popes, because such rulers only could then save from impending barbarism. But, when order had become prevalent, and relapse into barbarism no longer a danger, the instinct of personality began to assert itself. Men could leave the common interests and the general welfare in the hands of rulers, but they could not stultify their own conscious manliness, by putting themselves, without reserve of private rights and personal dignity, under the absolute direction and control of either lord or priest, king, kaiser, or pope.

Mutterings arose, and ran through all ranks. Learning broke forth from monastic walls, and laymen began to think and study and speak for themselves. Literati that were not monks, and lawyers who were not nobles, began to be heard among the people, and to be felt along the seats and paths of power. As there was no prestige of position, either social, political, or ecclesiastical, for them to fall back upon, they were compelled to stand alone upon the naked foundation of what they regarded as the truth. What they had to say, they were compelled to show in its primary relation to first principles. They were forced to sustain themselves first without extraneous help, and soon against hostile established powers; and, therefore, were driven by necessity into bold and deep investigations. Of course they were not long in discovering the fact that is correlative to that upon which stood the existing forms of civilization. They could not deny the organic principle. They knew it historically, and recognized the good work it had done in saving Europe; and they confessed its necessity for the preservation of order. Conservatism, however, was not the whole truth, nor could it secure the whole of the rights of man. Personality was as much a fact as organic unity. Man as man was a reality, as patent as man in the unity of one mankind. Individual liberty was a right not subservient to, but correlative with, the reciprocal duties of human intercourse and communion. Hence Church and State were not powers to which absolute obedience should be rendered, but only that obedience which belonged to their specific vocations as conservators of the general good.

Agitation inevitably arose. It was not confined to any one class of men or line of interests. It broke out in the universities, it entered into courts, it demanded to be heard before councils; and though it was chiefly observed among the religious orders, because at that period they largely outnumbered and outweighed others, yet it was not by any means confined to them. It was a renaissance, a kind of birth again from the dead, of a truth or power which had

been buried out of sight for a while, but which, now its time to rise had arrived, came forth living into the light, and demanded its place in the career of progress.

If Europe could only have recognized its right to be, if the pope and the kings could only have dealt patiently and wisely with it, the religious revolution of the sixteenth century might have been unnecessary, and the conflicts of three hundred years prevented. It did not so happen: perhaps it was impossible for men to be large-minded enough to duly estimate any truth which seemed to be opposed essentially to the principle of existing order. At any rate, the powers that then ruled in Church and in State endeavored to stamp out the first sparks of the new light. They did not know that an idea, like a person once raised from the dead, dieth no more.

Violence begat violence. The partisans of the Reformation, so soon as they could gather armies enough, repelled force by force. This fact alone separates it from early Christianity, and shows that its spirit was unlike that of the Apostles and first martyrs. In fact, it was as much based upon and permeated by one idea, as Mediaevalism itself. It was true as far as it went, but so also was the one idea of mediaevalism.

This one idea of the Reformation has grown until it has overshadowed its correlative; so that modern thought, both religious and philosophical, is now as exclusively radical as ever Mediaevalism was conservative. Primary principles are in the ascendant, and personal liberty is held to be not only indefeasible, but unlimited. In philosophical language, the abstract has excluded the concrete. Organizations of all kinds are regarded as only self-evolute forms of germinal principles, which every free person must estimate for himself, and may therefore accept or reject, in whole or in part, according to his own judgment, or indeed even as he may happen to fancy and will.

The Reformation is responsible for all this; while all the countless modern Christian sects, resting as they do upon



the Reformation, are every one based theologically upon abstract truth, and insist exclusively upon personal liberty. Their fundamental idea is that the Gospel was originally not an organism, witnessing to the fact of Jesus, the Saviour, promulgating His doctrine, directing the appointed worship of Him, dispensing sacraments as positive means of grace, and wielding disciplinary authority under Him ; but a body of doctrine merely, cast into the kneading-trough of humanity, and designed to pervade it, and operate upon it solely by germinal self-development and expansion.

Hence historical continuity is totally disregarded, and the only reason for existence, now given by any of the Christian sects, is alleged conformity with the abstract truths of the Divine revelation. If they are forced to consider history at all, they endeavor to make it conform to their primary idea. Like Neander, Stanley, and others, they start with an abstraction, and try to force facts into conformity with their fundamental and preconceived germinal assumptions.

Modern philosophy, however scornful it may be or endeavor to appear of religion, or rather of theology, coincides fundamentally with modern Christian sectarianism. It is indebted to "Protestantism" for the very liberty it uses in assailing Christianity. Even when it serenely declares its devotion to large-minded, agnostic indifference, which it fondly calls charity, and sets over in contrast with the *odium theologicum*, it cannot escape its evident relationship, nor blot out the family feature which shows it also to be a child of the Reformation.

The same force has displayed itself practically as well as theoretically on the arena, in both society and politics. In the former, ancestral prestige is almost dead ; while in the latter, the powers that be are respected, not as ordained of God, but as creations solely of the popular will. The accretions of organic growth are counted of little worth. Every man is required to stand forth alone, and take such esteem as may fall to him personally ; while political organizations are regarded wholly from the utilitarian point of view. Per-

sonal success is the ultimate aim of personal effort, and the ground of fame; while states and governments are respected only as they are powerful, and supported only as they make themselves advantageous or profitable to the individual man.

No doubt all this shows an advance in human progress. The civilization of the West is better than that of the East. The European is in advance of the Asiatic. There is a larger, broader culture, and a deeper, nobler development of mankind, made possible by the personal liberty which is progressing towards the setting sun, than could ever arise under the exclusively organic principle, hardening into temporal and spiritual despotisms as in the Orient.

While granting all this cheerfully, and sympathizing fully with the freedom of action, the liberty of thought and the general development of manliness which now characterize the West, and so strongly contrast the modern era with European Mediævalism, it may still be maintained that the whole of modern progress is one-sided, is built upon a half truth, and is now condensing into a conservatism that is quite as defective as orientalism, and equally dangerous to man personally, and to mankind at large, as was "dark mediævalism" itself.

Humanity, as a whole, is an organism, not a mere aggregation of units. It is like a living, growing and expanding tree, and not like a heap of shifting sand. Governments have been altered by revolutions, modified by popular ideas, and are yet going through changes not merely of policy, but even of organic structure; but they have never lost historic continuity. They were organic in the dawn of history. Not one authentic record can be found of the formation of a government over any large area or long period by the common consent of the governed, either in convention assembled, or giving sanction by silent acquiescence. Families impart not only personal characteristics to their members, but transmit the accretions of honor or dishonor, wealth or poverty, genius and talent, or their opposites. It is impossible to separate children from their parents so that

either shall possess esteem and influence entirely irrespective of the other. However the acknowledgment of family prestige may be denied and its force deadened, it cannot be killed utterly and wholly buried out of sight. The organic principle is as real also in politics and society as it is in nature. The human person, therefore, is subjected to the law of governmental, social, and family development, as truly as any individual, in any of the kingdoms of nature, is subject to what is called the law of nature.

The one distinctive element of the human existence—personality—though it differentiates man from brutes and plants and minerals, does not lift him beyond the reach of organic law. While the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms hold all individuals under the grip of organic law, and drop them into formal non-existence, when the matter they take up is wanted for some new combination; man alone retains a persistent individuality, because he is a personal entity, distinct in idea and separable in fact from living form with its material manifestations. Still man is none the less a part and member of the whole organism of humanity. His personality, though incapable of absorption into mankind—considered as a human, homogeneous entirety—is also inseparable in fact from the human race, and is subjected more or less to the general laws of the race, as well as to the laws of whatever subordinate organizations he may naturally fall into, willingly join, or even be united with forcibly.

Coming out from politics and society, and standing on the ground of philosophy, man cannot here escape from the concrete. It is indeed the modern fashion to reason from the abstract; and modern philosophy has pushed the principle of the Reformation quite beyond the intended limits of the religious agitators of the sixteenth century, even so far as to claim that vital germinal truth can be found in mere humanly-conceived ontology, and that out of it can be evolved all needful systems of doctrine and all useful organizations. Yet authentic, as distinct from ideal, history shows that organizations preceded the recognition of principles;

that the concrete went before the abstract; that the mother first produced the egg, and not the egg evolved the mother; while philosophy itself, enlarged and made equal to its subjects, requires an original cause, potentially holding in itself all effects with all their special characteristics and general combinations. Theology shows its relationship to sound philosophy by adhering to the First Cause.

If the distinctive principle of the Reformation be the whole truth, then religion is a human product. It was originally evolved out of man's own consciousness, and has grown by a constructive force emanating from interior longings and necessities. This is just what the "wise of this world" are now endeavoring to prove. No religious or religio-philosophical writings are more numerous, ingenious, learned, able, abundant, and popular than those which attempt to uncover the "origins of religions," to show that germinal ideas were their historic primary principles, and to trace them through so-called natural evolution up to the concrete systems that have borne sway, or yet bear sway, over small or large portions of mankind.

Protestant theology, while holding the same primary ground as modern philosophy, and resting upon the half truth of the Reformation, begins to tremble as it sees the brink to which it has arrived. While remaining true to its primary assumption—that personal freedom is the whole broad base upon which entire Christianity stands—it cannot escape from the grip which the philosophers of the abstract and teachers of the germinal self-evolute are tightening upon it. It must inevitably go over the sheer edge, and fall into the black gulf of primordial universal necessity, even though it subject God Himself to it, and whelm in the same dark ocean even their own beloved one idea of personal liberty. This unavoidable plunge, to which Protestant theology is rapidly hastening, was taken a century and a quarter ago—not avowedly, though essentially—by one of the very ablest, most purely philosophical, and sternly logical of the "orthodox Calvinists." Though Jonathan Edwards, after

writing his terrible essay upon the human will, and boldly arguing for the subjection of God Himself to necessity, retained his own personal hold on Christianity, he struck a blow at its very foundation whose effects are not yet over, and never will cease until the other half of the truth which the Reformation disregarded is restored to its due relation to the philosophy of the abstract, and to the reality of human freedom in persistent personality, and both together are studied, recognized, and acknowledged as correlative and mutually necessary constituents of the Truth.

The prevalence of modern scepticism, its boldness, and even its blasphemy, while traceable to the common ground of human corruption, and explained as the natural manifestation of man's fall into sin, can only be so traced and explained to such religious persons as accept human depravity as an established fact. Modern philosophers of all schools reject it, while multitudes—rapidly-growing multitudes—of "liberal Christians" in all denominations are either ignoring it, holding it with mental reservations of doubt, or even denying it altogether.

It has been often remarked that the prevalent philosophy of any period lies at the basis of the peculiar theology of that period. Theology, indeed, is only man's philosophy of the Divine. It is therefore always undergoing formal changes. Science and metaphysics bear theology along in the line of their own progression. Sometimes their opposition compels theology to enlarge itself and expand its definition of terms, while sometimes their acknowledged principles are equally acknowledged by theology. The histories of these two lines of mental progress run together. Although the followers of either are seldom or never mutually sympathetic, often openly hostile, and never more hostile than when most alike in primary ideas and fundamental principles, yet they cannot escape from their manifest reciprocal influence upon one another, nor deny their common and often contemporaneous origin.

Every one can see that the philosophy of the abstract is

the prevalent philosophy of modern times, and every one knows that it is historically subsequent to the Reformation of the sixteenth century as to its appearance and visible growth. In fact, however, that religious reformation and the modern philosophic revival are twin-born babes of one likeness and parentage. Protestant theology and modern philosophy are branches growing out from one stem; that stem being itself, as already shown, one side only of the whole concrete system or developing trunk of the truth in its completeness.

Relief from present ills is not to be found in plunging back again into those which are past. The restoration of mediæval theology is now impossible. It remains crystallized in the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome; but it is at war with modern progress. Wherever it succeeds it merely reproduces anachronisms. It sets mediæval men, often in cowl and sandal-shoon, amid the countless and varied modern hues and forms and modes of thought, and fashions of appearance and speech. Modern men may look with curiosity upon these reactionists, as they might look upon dead men walking; but the course of modern progress cannot be helped by them, nor can they stop its inevitable career of natural evolution. Nor can mediæval philosophy ever again be revived. It was as eminently concrete as modern philosophy is eminently abstract. It revered organic institutions as much as they are now disregarded. It began at wholes, at original entireties, as confidently as modern philosophers begin at primal, original, self-evolute germs. Although they found just as much difficulty in defining their "universals" as is now found in defining the atomic first seed of all things, yet, then as now, strong assertion was made most loudly when the thing asserted was most difficult to perceive and most incapable of proof.

Philosophic serenity and theologic truth now demand that Mediævalism and the Reformation be viewed together, in relative perspective. Those theologians who are so wedded to Protestantism that they cannot see Mediævalism in

any other than the lurid glare of the sixteenth century, cannot, of course, be expected to put it and the Reformation together into a perspective, where the good of either may be seen in due relation to that of the other. Those philosophers who are wedded to the abstract, and who see no possible evolution which did not begin at a primary, homogeneous germ, in which lay dormant the whole potentiality of all possible existence, cannot, of course, be expected to consider the possibility of an organized beginning of things, made by one Almighty, Perfect and All-glorious Person. Both these schools stand together, and will work for some time, perhaps some decades yet—the one thinking it is promoting spiritual liberty with moral and religious enlargement, and the other thinking that it has the very key to all knowledge, and is turning it successfully through the complicated wards of the lock that yet holds closed the one door of the chamber of certainty.

Another school of theologians is rising who are neither protestant nor mediæval, and yet something of both. Another class of philosophers are appearing, who, not ignoring the analytics of modern times, and not failing to acknowledge their great worth, will have something more to say than has yet been said of syntheses. They will attempt to show that the concrete preceded and contained the abstract; that organism went before the organite; that the line of causes leads upward, not downward; that the origin of all things was neither "nothing" nor its hardly distinguishable congeners "necessity" or "tendency;" but that a First Cause, in Himself containing in full perfectness every existence or possibility, is the Creator and Preserver of the universe.

The time, indeed, has not yet quite arrived for this school of theologians to come out and be separate from both Protestantism and Mediævalism. They are beginning to appear, however. Nothing shows their advance more clearly than the tremors that shake some souls lest the dark ages roll back again and wrap Christianity in a dreadful eclipse;



while the plunges made on either side, one into Romanism, and the other into sheer, bland and abstract Protestantism, show how the two ideas are yet living powers, each holding separately and apart its distinctive truth; while unstable souls, minds not comprehensive, and consciences unilluminated, being incapable of seeing both, are impelled to dive headlong into one depth through fear of falling into the other.

While this separation of extremes is going on among theologians, and appearing practically in opposite religious schools, the philosophers—*i.e.*, the wise of this world—though agreeing in primary principle with Protestantism, are growing daily more openly and positively hostile to all forms of theology.

The time has fully arrived for a general reconstruction of theology. Both Mediaevalism and the Reformation have worn themselves out. Their respective half-truths cannot, with any hope of good, or with much expectation of attention from thoughtful men, stand apart any longer.

A better and more comprehensive philosophy, also, than the present prevalent and popular philosophy of the abstract, is demanded by the deepest students of human nature. The conscious capacities and the irrepressible aspirations of man are making themselves felt in the domains of thought. The discovery has been made, or rather revived, that the human person is a constituent part of one organic humanity; and the problem to be solved is how to adjust distinctive and persistent personality to the organic human entirety. Modern philosophers have tried hard to persuade mankind that personality is not persistent; that it is only temporarily distinctive; that it came forth originally out of "nothing," "tendency," "necessity," "a primary, homogeneous self-evoluteness," now differentiating and hence evolving personality in temporary appearance, but all destined to result again in a final homogeneous universality, in which every person having ceased to be, only a vague "ALL" shall survive. This philosophy cannot stand long against

the universal and irrepressible human consciousness. Self-existence is a patent fact. Every one, whether he thinks or only feels, knows that he is a person, and that he is distinct from every other person. This distinctiveness is essential to and inseparable from his consciousness. He cannot conceive of his personality existing in any Universal All, because he cannot contemplate its destruction. Annihilation is a term to which a definition may be given; but it is not a reality that any person can conceive.

Hence, modern philosophy will soon be compelled to stand aside. There is a weak side to the moral constitution of man—called corruption, and ascribed by theologians to sin—which disposes many to accept modern philosophy for the sake of the exemption it offers from moral responsibility and final judgment: but if it stood solely upon its logic, modern philosophy would be scornfully rejected by modern men. The universal outcry would be, "I know that I am a distinct person, that I am not compounded of capacities, feelings, thoughts, but that I hold them all in the indivisible unit of my one distinctive self."

Now this irrepressible and indestructible consciousness of self, or personality, stands in every one consociated with the knowledge that we are members one of another, that the human race is one organic unit also. Philosophy must take both these facts into consideration, and not hope to maintain any "science of being" that sacrifices either one to the other. Theology has the same work to do within the domains of religion and coterminous area of the truth.

The abstract and the concrete must be harmonized, since both are real and reciprocally influential. The germ and the organism are both indestructible; how do they exist together, and how did both begin! The person man and the one human stock are distinctive yet inseparable, both immortal and each persistent; how are they related to each other! Mediævalism was a glorious idea, and wrought nobly in its time. It gave organic form and restorative force to religion and society, and saved the West from anarchy. The

Reformation was a splendid revolution. It saved man from religious, political and social slavery, and gave "modern progress" to the world.

The history of the past is a record of inestimable worth. We cannot spare any part of what our ancestors purchased for us, by noble words and deeds, done often in flames and inscribed in blood.

But as we cannot transfer Mediaevalism to modern times, so cannot we find any longer room and verge enough in what the Reformation has given us. The truth is, mankind demands both, and therefore must have both; aye, and will have it, however theologians rave and philosophers imagine a vain thing.

Free, glorious, godlike man has come forth into light. He cannot be again chained in a dungeon. So much the Reformation has done, and thereby won for itself a noble record inscribed in a high niche on the walls of the growing temple of human development. The human brotherhood is a fact, equally essential and needful to human perfectness as personal freedom. Organization is the necessary expression and manifestation of unity. The human brotherhood lives and works organically. Every human interest is touched by organization, and some are the mere outflow of organic operations. Socially, philosophically and religiously, man and all men must live and work in and through organizations. Mediaevalism gave the world this truth, and wrote it in letters of immortal light on the then rising walls of the growing temple of human development, and they gleam yet, amid the "dark ages," and show them to be by no means ages of the night.

In order to see the work that lies before philosophic theologians in the near future, it will be necessary to let the abuses of both Mediaevalism and the Reformation stand aside for a while. Those of the one are remote, and no longer effective. Those of the other are at hand, and full of mischievous activity, in philosophy, morals, religion and society. But either rests upon a mighty, glorious and indestructible

half-truth. Liberty and obedience are not only correlatives, but reciprocal components. Neither can exist long apart. Both are needful to the other.

Of course it will not be easy to adjust these two sides of the one truth to each other. Nor, indeed, can they be observed together at the same time and from the same point of view. While personality is asserted and defended upon philosophical ground, and defined from a philosophical position, the organic unity of mankind must remain for the moment out of sight. It will be no small gain, however, when both are so recognized that their essential oneness is claimed even when either is the prominent object of consideration. Many vain conflicts will thus be avoided. An advocate while supporting the one will not be regarded as denying the other. The only real conflict will lie against an undue preponderance of one, while the only profitable labor will tend towards the right relative adjustment of each.

Theologically, also, a great advance will be attained when Mediævalism shall be recognized as holding a valuable principle—as real, persistent, and needful to a well-rounded human progress, as the equally valuable distinctive principle of the Reformation.

Of course sectarianism will lose vitality, and depart to wander amid the shades, while the whole mass of distinctive "Protestant theology" will have to be remanded to those dusty shelves on which are piled the ponderous tomes of distinctive "mediæval theology." Neither theologic system, however, will altogether die; or rather they will die only as systems. Their respective truths will survive, because they are portions of the great concrete unity of the Truth. The direct personal status of man before God, with the glorious personal liberty and serious personal responsibility incident upon this status, will stand forth in dignity and freedom, and the Reformation will be honored as the emancipator of man. On the other hand, Mediævalism will revive, and sustain its own claim to honor for preserving

the equal truth that we are members one of another, and that the highest union of glorified humanity may be found only in common membership in that organic "One Body of Christ," "the Church, which is His Body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all."

The general acceptance of this position, the common recognition of this conjunct duality of the indivisible unity of the truth, the devotional reception of the mutuality of religious liberty with holy obedience, and the consequent spirit of charity in reciprocal communion, may be practically distant. Sectarianism may coil, and twist, and squirm in the throes of dissolution; it may continue to secrete and throw out its natural venom; it may not at once crawl away, going down to its own place: but it will be known as it is, its masking as an angel of light will cease, its origin will be known by its family likeness, and it will be hated at last of all men, for His name's sake, Who is One, Who is Love, Who is the Truth.

Nor will the two great rival theologies forget their vain and useless opposition all at once. The real danger to the souls of men, and the actual dishonor to God, which lies at the extreme outcome of either, when viewed and followed alone, will have to be guarded against for some time longer. So easy is it to see one side of truth only, and so comparatively exciting is it to contend for one side, that we may not hope for a speedy prevalence of that calm consideration, that comprehensiveness of view, and that patience of charity, all so needful to the proportionateness with strength and permanence of the whole truth.

Much, however, will be gained by the recognition and general confession of the duality of the real and the true. They who freely grant the danger of extremes on either hand, will not honestly oppose the advocates in either direction, and charge them with extreme intentions. They will watch them indeed, and be watched in turn. By this mutual vigilance both will be benefited; while each may do well his work on the side that seems most in need of

building upon, or the better adapted to his own skill or calling.

One great need of our time, therefore, is a philosophy which will duly consider the concrete as well as the abstract, and discover their due relations to each other in principle as well as in historic succession. Constituency and organization are facts. They are reciprocal principles. They exist together. They are inseparable the one from the other. The germ and the individual, the organite, the organ, and the organization are co-united, have been contemporaneous in all the periods of authentic history; neither, therefore, is the discoverable originator of the other. If man would know which is first, he must be told, and can be told only, by One "Who was before all things, and by Whom all things consist."

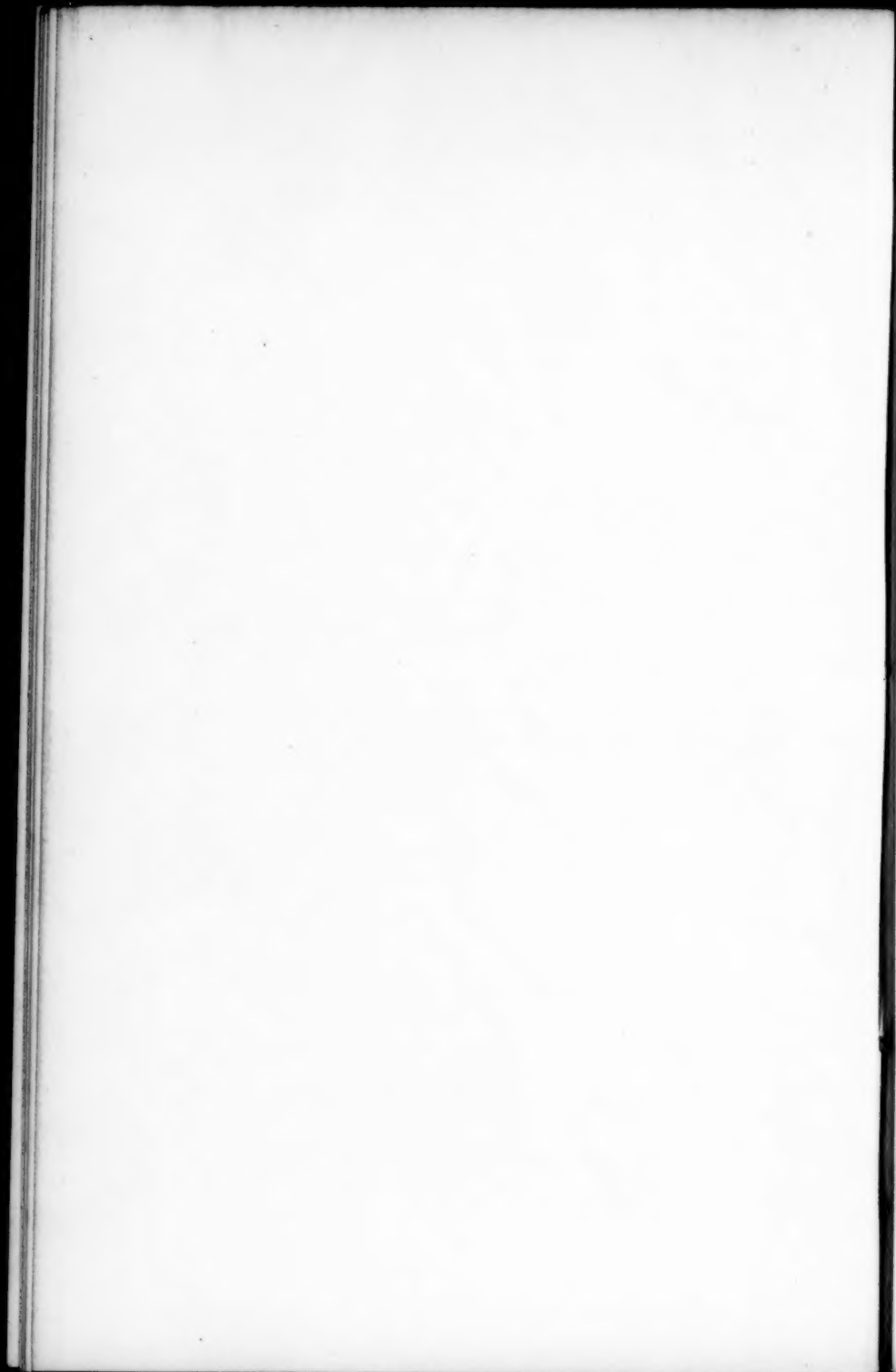
That other great need of our times—a comprehensive theology—can become such by laying hold of a duality similar to that which the philosophers must comprehend and explain. Its materials are all provided. Though scattered in old tomes, and teeming in new leaves falling continually from the press of the day, they belong all to two simple and clear divisions. Man personally, and man in common unity, or in communion one with another, are correlative, concurrent and reciprocal facts. The honor of God and the good of men are to be promoted duly, in and through the recognition of this duality. The unity of the Church is not merely a beautiful cloudy picture of a desirable impossibility, but it must have been an original creation, and must be found an actual existence. When thus found it should be respected, joined, adhered to, and confided in as an organization which the gates of hell cannot prevail against.

Charity must grow in the spirits of thoughtful men, and serenity rule in them, before the intelligence of the age can even perceive, much more appreciate, a philosophy of the concrete which shall not ignore the abstract, and a theology that is both conservative and radical. Although the difficulty of comprehending this duality may deter some from the

intellectual labor it demands, and though the serenity it requires may lapse into indifference or insensibility, yet these are only dangers, not necessities. An eager and solemn devotion to the truth will dispense with the need of such excitement as comes through personal encounters. One need not be indifferent—indeed, he may be only the more profoundly in earnest—when he would add to the real and the good held already, another good reality which is the complement of the first. “Be ye also enlarged,” is an injunction as timely as it was when first given to the cultured Corinthians. Nor is it at all incompatible with the correlative injunction “to contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints.” Indeed, enlargement and earnestness are spiritual correlatives corresponding to the philosophic concrete and abstract, and to the theologic organism and personality. These several dualities are reciprocally essential to each other’s true and normal development. They live and grow together. Their conjunction assures right knowledge and promotes right action. They are both positive and real, and both mutual supporters in the learning, the teaching, and the practice of the truth.

B. FRANKLIN.





HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.

*In the Harbor: Ultima Thule. Part II.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 16mo, pp. 88.

*Henry W. Longfellow: Biography, Anecdote, Letters, and Criticism.* Cambridge, Mass.: Moses King. Large 12mo, pp. 368.

*Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: A Biographical Sketch.* By FRANCIS H. UNDERWOOD. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 12mo, pp. 371.

*The Golden Legend.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 16mo, pp. 215.

*The Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.* Illustrated with over Five Hundred Wood Engravings by American Artists. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Two Folio Volumes. 1880.

*Kavanagh, and Other Pieces. Hyperion: A Romance. Outre-Mer: A Pilgrimage Beyond the Sea.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 16mo. 1882.

*Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: A Medley in Prose and Verse.* By RICHARD HENRY STODDARD. New York: George A. Harlan & Co. Large 12mo, pp. 265.

THE last volume of Longfellow's poems, except the dramatic piece entitled "Michael Angelo," which will appear later, has now been given to the world. The tiny volume contains short lyrical flights, some of which, like "Auf Wiedersehen," in memory of the late James T. Fields, are in his best vein, others being personal, and reflecting the

mellowed feelings of his riper age; but the collection as a whole neither decreases nor forwards his reputation. The sonnet entitled "Possibilities," evidently the last he ever wrote, is prophetic of the new ventures in song which he was not permitted to reach. The three biographies here mentioned have various merits. Mr. Underwood adds little to what is known of Longfellow, though some of his points are suggestive and fresh. Mr. Kennedy has written a piecemeal work in which the outward biography of Longfellow, the way in which he impressed the world by his presence and poems, is admirably told. It is not the official memoir, but it will be a useful book even when the authentic memoir is published. It is well put together, and supplies much valuable information. Mr. Stoddard has worked upon his own lines in the biographical memoir which he has prepared, and has thus furnished quite a different book from that edited by Mr. Underwood or that prepared by Mr. Kennedy, and yet a book which is of specific value in the study of the poet and in the appreciation of his poetry. All three biographies are thin and informal in their character, but they bring out features which it is well to have preserved in his personal career. But nothing that has been done for Longfellow's fame since his death can ever equal the magnificent illustrated edition of his works which appeared in 1880, and which includes all the poems except those which have just appeared in the tiny volume "In the Harbor." There was lavished upon this work every attention which the most accomplished artists could give, and it had the personal oversight of Mr. A. V. S. Anthony, who stands at the head of American engravers. It was a great satisfaction to Longfellow to see this work done. It was as if he witnessed the apotheosis of his reputation. He took the heartiest interest in it.

## HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.

Longfellow is still so near in spirit and sympathy to those who have known him that it is not easy to separate the man

from his work, and the beauty of his character still entrances the memory and withholds the critical judgment. Much as he did, it must be conceded that the man was more than his work. It was not that his sayings were remarkable, or that his presence awed the visitor, or that his name stood for great ideas, or that he made a notable impression upon his time; but somehow he filled out, especially in his later years, the conception of a national poet. He was our best known and best loved American author. He was the most widely read poet in the English-speaking world. He stood for the things in which the heart and the intellect are subdued and softened until they blend in harmony. He embodied the idea of the people's poet. He touched life as a whole. He touched the affections, the sympathies, the sentiments, the common interests, of the multitude. He never stood apart and solitary. His song was not common-place, but he so saw what is common to all lives that when he sighed for his own or the sorrows of others, the people sighed with him. He struck the keynote of the popular heart. The question with the majority is not Longfellow's rank among poets, not his relative greatness, but the way in which he expresses the universal experiences of men and women. He put his ear close to his own heart and heard its echoes of the still sad music of humanity, and this was the inspiration of his poetry. He says in "Kavanagh:" "In character, in manners, in style, in all things, the supreme excellence is simplicity;" and this is the rule that prevails in all his writing, whether it be prose or poetry. There is nothing vain, windy, ambitious, or insincere. If one is to estimate Longfellow rightly, he must not compare him with other great names in point of certain abstract qualities, such as you find in Shelley and Keats; the man rules the writing, and his productions are to be judged by their relation to himself, as the outgrowth of his character. This element of personality exists in all strong poets, but in many its development is so individual or marked that it gives a twist to one's genius and detracts from his fame. It is not so with Longfellow. No

traditions of poverty or eccentricity attach to his career. He was neither rich nor poor; he was always able to command his leisure and his thoughts; he absorbed the best culture of his time, read the best books, saw the best people, and was able to breathe into his happiest poems the secrets of humanity at large. Nothing beyond the griefs and sorrows that enrich the inner life embittered or thwarted his plans. Occupying essentially a private station, pursuing always the plans of a literary life, enriching himself with the spoils of the chief literatures of Europe, Longfellow was in some respects the most cultivated American of his day. With most men thus favored, the leisure for self-satisfactions would have destroyed the creative impulse, but with him it rather cleared the way for original work. It was not till after the acquisitions of culture had been made and the heyday of youth had been passed that he composed his best poems, and the beautiful serenity of his genius had been fully reached. His mind was self-active, and found abundant materials for practical illustration in his rambles among the ruins of European mediævalism; it was not overborne and dwarfed by travel or culture. If Longfellow is a sentimentalist; if he works, like Hawthorne, chiefly in the realm of the imagination; if the severer things of life, even the higher passages of the soul's experience, are not dwelt upon, he is not to be judged as if, because he had his limitations, he were unequal to others in not having a share of their peculiar gifts. He struck out an independent career as an American author, and his success was due not more to his fidelity to such gifts as God had given him, than to his good judgment in not trying to be what he was not.

Longfellow's culture was English and European. He stood too near the fountain-head of American letters for this to be otherwise. Irving and Dana, Cooper and Webster, are but a few removes from him; they contributed almost nothing to the formation of his literary taste. He was a schoolboy when Irving's "Sketch Book" appeared, and this was in fact

the first book that aroused his youthful enthusiasm ; but all through the nascent period of his intellectual growth, from 1820 to 1840, the literature of England and the Continent was most powerful in directing and shaping his tastes. His prose works, "*Outre-Mer*," "*Hyperion*," and "*Kavanagh*," furnish abundant evidence of the region in which his thoughts habitually dwelt. He profoundly studied the romance literature, entering into its old-world spirit as Carlyle and Emerson entered into its ethical life. He became a disciple of Richter and Tieck ; he studied the poetical inspirations of the Germanic developments in Europe, and nothing in English more fully reflects the spirit of old romance, the dreams of the chivalric and religious age which preceded and lingered on beyond the Reformation, than his "*Hyperion*." Longfellow had all his life a genuine fondness for what was characteristically old. It struck his fancy. It touched the poetical instinct. He once advised the writer to carefully preserve every bit of tradition and every quaint form of speech which came within his reach in the old seaboard town where he then resided. Between him and Hawthorne there was a kindred feeling, though Hawthorne had by far the intenser imagination. He had a longing for the old ways, the old stories, the moss-grown legends ; and the rechristening of legends, the freshening of old incidents with modern feeling, constitutes the charm of much of his poetry. It may be justly said, from this point of view, that his poetry grew out of his culture. So it did. His earlier poems—in fact, all his poems—are based upon legends in the Old World or in the New. Poets are always story-tellers. This is their mission. The first poet, Homer, was simply a teller of the legends of the immortal Greeks, and all the great poets ever since have only excelled their fellows by their ability to tell stories supremely well. Even so abstract and theological a poem as "*In Memoriam*," veined through and through with the convolutions of modern thought, is only the story of the changes wrought in the mind and soul of

the poet by the death of his friend. Longfellow simply keeps to the old order, and remembers that the poet's work is to tell stories and sing songs.

But because he is so pathetic and beautiful a singer, always engaging the affections, and conquering the intellect because he wins the heart, it has often been said that he was not an original and independent writer. This is a mistake. He is not original as some others are. "There is no transatlantic twang anywhere, such as gives a zest to the works of Emerson or of Walt Whitman." Neither is there anything blatant in his writings. He had no affinity for men like Garrison and Parker in the anti-slavery movement; and yet his poems on slavery have winged power like Whittier's, and are in the same vein. Neither can you trace the transcendental movement in his poems or in his prose, though in his prime it was the movement of the hour. He was neither so spiritually minded as Emerson, nor so encyclopedic as Ripley, nor so individualistic as Thoreau. He lived through all that seething period in the realm of the imagination, not indifferent to what was going on, not a recluse, not withholding sympathy from persons or movements, but guarding the sanctuary of his imagination lest his fine visions of earthly beauty might lose their brightness and strength. In all this, Longfellow was true to his instincts and to himself, and these were the only conditions by which such a nature as his could rise above the jargon of affairs and enter within the confines of the creative world. Take the two poems by which he is likely to be best remembered, "Evangeline" and "Hiawatha." They are earthly poems. Their argument lies within the sphere of this world; they are spiritual only as at times they touch the spiritual side of our lives; but how can such poems be written, in which the creative impulse is vigorous and sustained through a long flight of song and the imagination is the constant factor, unless the poet hides himself in his subject, like the silkworm in his cocoon, and spins out his life in his song? What is here insisted on is that



Longfellow is always true to himself, that he follows the lead of his imagination, that his great poems are filled with the inspirations of the whole man. There is the same integrity about them which you feel in Sir Walter Scott's metrical tales. The "Courtship of Miles Standish" falls into the same category of finished poems. Longfellow is an independent, original, and self-reliant poet, and though his subjects are as often European as American, he is as much at home in the one as in the other. His culture is of the Old World, but his fresh and sunny spirit is of the New.

Longfellow's genius was limited. He was not intense or passionate enough to be a dramatic writer. His "Spanish Student" is rather for the closet than the stage. Neither does his translation of Dante's great poem throb with the intense and soul-consuming force of the original. It is clear rendering, not an inspired translation. And none of his translations are remarkable for anything beyond a certain finish of language and beauty of expression. Neither the "New-England Tragedies," nor the "Golden Legend," nor the "Divine Tragedy," are quite up to the level of his other work. The "Tragedies" were too somber and distasteful for poetical treatment; the "Divine Tragedy" was clearly beyond him—beyond any one; and the "Golden Legend," though falling measurably within the scope of his gifts, is by no means one of his best productions. The mel-  
low, the distant, the legendary, the pathetic, the sad, the dim and shadowy things of life were most congenial to him, and here he did work which will live and which has carried his fame around the world; but whenever he went beyond this line his success was not sufficient to make his writing immortal. It is just as important to emphasize his failures as it is to recognize his wonderful power to touch the popular heart and make the round world respond to the music of his rhyme. It is inevitable that Longfellow's limitations should appear more and more distinctly as time goes on. His successful poems will continue to hold their own; his failures will only be found in the complete editions of

his works. Just so long as he kept to the topics of common life or to those within the reach of common sympathy he touched every heart and his poems were sure of world-wide recognition, but the moment he ventured into deep things or into the region of particulars it was plain that the tasks were beyond him. In this respect he stands in sharp contrast with Robert Browning, who is never so much at home as when he is developing an interest in a topic which only by subtle lines touches the life of humanity at large. Browning's popular poems can be counted on the fingers of two hands; Longfellow's can be counted by the hundred. The "*Tales of a Wayside Inn*," in which one finds a reminiscence of Chaucer's "*Canterbury Tales*," contains some of his best work. The topics are suited to his gifts. They are within his range. They bear discursive, pathetic, romantic treatment. Then, again, his sonnets, most of which appear among the later poems, are remarkably good. Those entitled "*Three Friends of Mine*," "*Milton*," "*The Tides*," "*The Burial of the Poet*," and "*A Summer Day by the Sea*," are in his happiest vein. But the best part of Longfellow's work is his lyrical poetry. He had a genuine fondness for the short poems in which, as in the sonnets, one impulse sweeps the lyre and finds expression in song. No American poet has given more lyrical poems to the world. They are, however, hardly purely lyric. They are not intense, not playful; there is nothing that lifts you into the blue ether like Shelley's "*Skylark*," there is nothing that thrills you with ecstatic emotion; and yet for the mass of readers the lyrical poems of Longfellow are the most popular that have ever been written. They strike the human average; they express feelings which are common to all persons in language so simple yet poetical that all can understand it. There is nothing "*caviare to the multitude*." And here you touch the secret of Longfellow's popularity. He has said in musical verse what everybody has felt in plain prose or in personal experience. The merit is not apparently great in these very simple produc-

tions, and yet the merit is such that almost no one in our time has come up to it. It is the merit of gentle or sparkling thought clothed in the clearest, simplest language, and the very last poem the poet ever penned, dated January 17, 1882, in which he asks inquiringly,

Perhaps there lives some dreamy boy, untaught  
In schools, some graduate of the field or streets,  
Who shall become a master of the art,  
An admiral sailing the high seas of thought;  
Fearless and first, and steering with his fleet  
For lands not yet laid down in any chart,

is a beautiful witness to the purity and simplicity of his diction. It is to Longfellow's credit that he never resorted to tricks of rhetoric to enhance his poetical genius. His fame, within its proper limits, rests upon a solid foundation, and there are perhaps a hundred of his shorter poems that after generations will not willingly allow to die.

It has been said that his work as a poet is inseparable from his character as a man—so inseparable that no criticism can be passed upon his poems which leaves the man out of account. It is perhaps for this reason that one does not find it easy to compare him with contemporary or earlier poets. He made his own place. He borrows very little from any quarter. He is not an enthusiast for nature like Emerson; he does not feel the intuitions of tragedy like Hawthorne; he does not rise into the spiritual heights which seem native to Whittier's soul; he has not that child-like faith in human nature that distinguished Channing; and yet, if not like these at their point of strength, he is so distinctly different in his own way that his poems are linked inseparably with the man who wrote them, and he is always judged by the standard which he has made for himself. And this standard is distinguished not more for the qualities of clearness and simplicity and familiar experience already mentioned than for the purity and elevation of his thought. Longfellow does not often touch the deeper life of the soul. He could not have written Wordsworth's "Ode on the

Intimations of Immortality," nor Emerson's "Threnody:" they are immeasurably beyond him; but his poems are full of the suggestions which border close upon such a flood-tide of religious insight, and he shows everywhere an "exquisite discernment of the spiritual in material things." It could be wished that he had gone further and higher in respect of the truths upon which one feeds his soul, but that which makes a poet forever immortal is rarely more than hinted at in his writings. With this abatement, there is a rare urbanity and completeness in Longfellow's work. He never wrote a line to offend or wound the most sensitive feelings. His verse, like his life, always reflects the purity of heaven. There is a bright, sunny, cheerful glow to his poems. They lift up the sad heart; they beautify common life; they enlarge upon the domestic virtues; they make all the home affections bolder than they were before; they have increased the joy of living to thousands; they have taken people away from themselves into a purer and better atmosphere; they have made Longfellow the household poet of the world. And yet, if you analyze these poems, they do not seem to amount to much. There is music in the verses, but the thought is common, the metaphors and similes are not remarkable, and there is almost nothing to them. Longfellow reaches results by a certain element of pathos and musical repetition of words. He pleases the ear by his rhythm quite as much as the mind by his thought. The truth is, that the man's cheerful, sunny, benignant spirit speaks through his simple rhymes and makes them seem more than they are. The poet is lost in the friend. The proof of this is attested in the biographies that have appeared since his death. Every writer magnifies what Longfellow was to him, and lays claim to his special friendship. He was the poet of universal benevolence. He touched those chords that drew to him the people who most enjoy the reflection of their thoughts in song. And this same element of friendliness to humanity drew distinguished foreigners to him. They longed to cross the threshold of his historical mansion

at Cambridge, and feel themselves within the circle of his intimate friendship. They knew him and loved him. They saw the man in his own house as they felt his presence in his poems, and the rare and venerable beauty of his person was attuned to the sympathetic notes of his verse. One always felt as if benedictions went forth with his words, and in his later years there was no person in Cambridge who seemed to have so fully the inspiration and air of the poetical mood as he did. He grew old beautifully, serenely, wisely, and well.

He was not a man of many friendships of the closer sort. Sumner, Felton, Agassiz, and Hillard were as close to him as any, and the late James T. Fields and the venerable George W. Greene, one of our truest men of letters, in good part completed the literary circle that surrounded him. He did not affiliate with Irving or Bryant. Hawthorne, his college classmate, was as intimate with him as any one. He did not found a school of American poetry. He has no successor. There was nothing to make a successor, He was not a man of ideas. There is more potency in Emerson's little poem the "Problem" than in all that Longfellow has written. He was a dreamer, a sentimentalist, a story-teller, and nothing more. It was no slight merit to be what he was. No figure in our literary history is so unique, so lovable, so patriarchal, so majestic, so attractive. It is not lowering Longfellow in public estimation to tell the truth about him. Had he been born in the middle ages he would have been a good-natured monk, loving virtue as he would life, and making the most of both. He adventured little; he originated nothing; he failed amid difficulties more than ordinary; he had and enjoyed a safe and sure subsistence all his days; and he made beautiful and serene the place which he nobly and truly won in American letters and life. It is a mistake, which he knew too much to emphasize, to take him for anything but what he was. And he was an honest man, a true gentleman, a poet of the kindest heart, a man of the gentlest feelings and utterance; and in all his

literary work he was truly sane. He never affected anything; he had correct tastes; he knew the life of the people; he catered to no man's whims; he was never the slave of party or prejudice; he was not one who liked argument, not one who departed from a true temperance in all things, not one who unduly put himself forward, not one to exhaust the sweet tempers of his friends; and he was always loyal to the instincts of his imagination. He did such work as God appointed him to do, and then retired from the scene of conflict as gracefully as he entered upon it. It is impossible for those who knew him to separate his poems from himself. The shorter poems are of the simplest character, and yet they are self-revealing in the most delicate ways, and contain for those who read them aright his spiritual biography. His sympathies with the universal life of men are responded to in the fact that two continents are mourning for him, and there is no possibility that men will see his like again.

JULIUS H. WARD.

APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION IN THE CHURCH  
OF SWEDEN.

*"Apostolical Succession in the Church of Sweden." By the Rev. A. Nicholson, LL.D., Incumbent of Christ Church, Leamington. London: Rivingtons, 1880.*

IN the October (1881) number of the REVIEW the Bishop of Connecticut gave an admirable summary of Dr. Nicholson's recent work on Swedish Orders. The subject needs further discussion. Without raising a question as to a single fact or idea contained in the Bishop's able article, or in any wise crossing his line of thought, the present writer may venture a *résumé* of the subject, hoping to enhance the interest which Bishop Williams must have elicited, for looking more thoroughly into a question so long and sadly ignored among Anglican Churchmen.

A great want is at last satisfied, which has long been felt by many English-speaking Churchmen, concerning the Church of Sweden. Not that any real objection could be entertained against the validity of the Swedish Episcopate by those who have thoroughly examined the subject; but it is the misfortune inherited by many of this generation, that the prejudices of a former period have been taken for



valid truths. There are certain abnormal features in the practice and ritual of the Swedish method of election and consecration which have had an unfavorable influence in securing the confidence of certain schools of Church politics among Anglicans.

But canonical variations have been taken as tokens and tests of validity for and against. It is well known that Dr. Pusey, with all his acknowledged ability, has had a strong prejudice against the Swedish Church. Fifty years ago he began his career as a genuine hater of all that was Lutheran and German, and this prejudice has colored his view of the Swedish Church, which in dogma, but not in Church constitution, is thoroughly Lutheran. But as against such assumptions of men like Dr. Pusey who have never gone deeply into this subject, there are, on the other hand, many abler men than Dr. Pusey, such as Dr. Harold Brown, now Bishop of Winchester, who have thoroughly examined the legitimate and original sources of evidence: and among such men there is but one opinion as to the validity of the Swedish Episcopate. The late lamented Bishop Whitehouse was entirely convinced as to the Canonical Succession of the Swedish Church; and the present writer is assured that some of our living Bishops are equally satisfied.

The essential facts are plain enough, if any one conversant with the Swedish language should betake himself to the legitimate sources of evidence; but this evidence is not easy to get at, through treatises in English, or even in German. We have had a few books rendered into English on this subject, such as Dr. Mason's translation of Bishop Anjou's History of the Reformation of the Church of Sweden, made more than a quarter of a century ago; but this heavy work was very imperfectly rendered into English, and the publications since that period have been mostly fragmentary, and soon forgotten.

But now at last we have a great work done by a master-hand—a *multum in parvo*—a little book which comes as near to the idea of a *demonstration* as any historical sub-

jects are capable of. While the present writer spent portions of three several years in Sweden, he had ample opportunity of estimating the ability of Dr. Nicholson as a preacher and scholar in his vocation as the English Consular chaplain at Gothenburg. He has made himself a perfect master of the Swedish language and literature; and his vigorous power as a preacher and lecturer is, if anything, surpassed by his logical and critical ability in the treatise now before us. He has made his chain so strong that every link is welded without a flaw.

First of all, we propose to give a brief summary of Dr. Nicholson's argument, and then to supplement the subject by some further information which the author has not deemed necessary to add, after he has settled his main points in reference to the Archbishops and the Bishops of the period of 1575.

The Apostolical Succession of the Bishops of the Church of Sweden was secured by the foresight of Gustavus Vasa, at a time when amicable relations existed between Rome and Sweden. Peter Magnusson, for many years Prior of the House of S. Bridget, a Swedish hospice in Rome, where for many years the best educated priests of Scandinavia had lived as guests and students in the Vatican city, and who for a period was Chancellor to the Pope, was elected to the bishopric of Westerås by its Cathedral Chapter in Sweden, and was consecrated Bishop at Rome on the 1st of May, 1524, by a Cardinal Bishop. This fact is attested by the most thorough evidence derived by Dr. Nicholson from original authorities.

The next link in the Apostolic Succession of Orders in the Church of Sweden is the consecration in 1528 of the three Bishops, Magnus Haraldson of Skara, Magnus Sommar of Strengnäs, and Martinus Skytte of Abo, all duly elected by their Cathedral chapters, but owing to the unsettled condition of the times, the elections which occurred as early as 1523 could not be consummated by consecration till 1528. Bishop Peter Magnusson, the prelate in full com-

munion with the Vatican, was the consecrator of those three Bishops.

At that time the king was yet no Lutheran. Whatever constraint was put upon Peter Magnusson arose from the felt necessity for an adequate number of consecrated Bishops for the anointing and consecration of the king, then near at hand, and for filling of some of the vacant sees occasioned by death, political exile, and especially the chasms resulting from the massacre at Stockholm. The testimony of contemporaneous chroniclers and historians on this point is rendered all the more full on account of the deep national feeling, then as now, which required that the function of Bishops was indispensable for the coronation of the king; and the consecration of the three Bishops must precede the coronation. The Catholic recognition of the Episcopal Orders of these three Bishops is fully attested by contemporary Papal authorities, with every circumstance of name, date, and conditions affixed.

Nothing can invalidate the legitimacy of these three now mentioned consecrations, even in view of Papal evidence, unless it be the intervention of the favorite dogma of *Intention*, which was adopted by the Council of Trent a generation later, and according to which it is necessary that the Bishop or Priest performing any religious ceremony should inwardly mean to do what the Church intends to do, and in default of this *Intention* the act is null and void, and conveys no grace. But, as Dr. Littledale has shown in his recent little book on "Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome," the effect of this dogma of *Intention* is to invalidate the consecration of many of the Popes and Bishops of the Latin Church, and leaves that Church a wreck broken at a hundred places.

But the Succession of the Archbishops and Bishops who appear as the leaders of the Reformed Church in Sweden after 1531 is just as regular as those before 1528, so far as election by the proper representatives of the Church and the official acts of the consecrators are concerned. The fact

that any one or more ordained Papal Bishops remained Papal, or that the political treachery of an Archbishop required another to be duly substituted, makes no difference as to the validity of those on whom they had laid their hands in consecration.

The order of things—a regular Apostolical succession—thus established, continued through the long Archiepiscopate of Laurentius Petri, a period of forty-two years, and the ordinances were canonically settled beyond any doubt of their legitimacy. It was thus settled that a Bishop should always be regularly elected; that this election should be confirmed by the State, as in the Church of England; and that the persons thus elected and confirmed should always receive Episcopal consecration. These laws were thoroughly settled at the Synod of Upsala in 1572, and the following year the great Archbishop died, who had secured the Apostolical Succession for the Church, and all sufficient guarantees for its perpetuation.

The Swedish Church was exceedingly fortunate in keeping up the Succession thus secured, by means of her great Archbishops and Bishops through all the transitions of reform which were fully settled at the great Council at Upsala in 1593.

It is noteworthy how highly favored was the historical continuity of the Swedish Episcopate under the long Archiepiscopate of Laurentius Petri. It began in 1531, before England was freed from Rome under Henry, and extended over all that turbulent and unsettled period of the English Church, when under Henry, Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth the Anglican body was tossed backward and forward between Reform and the Papacy. And the grounds so well settled at the Council of Upsala in 1593 have remained essentially unchanged in the Swedish Church from that day to this.

The historical continuity of the Episcopate so well established down to the Archbishop and Bishops of the period of 1575, is the only important turning-point needing consideration.

The second son and the second successor of King Gustavus Vasa (died 1560) was John the Third, whose reign extended till 1592. He was a very High Churchman, tending to Rome, and his son and successor Sigismund, who was also joint King of Poland, relapsed fully to the Papacy. But the High Church notions prevailing in the Court at the decease of the venerable Laurentius Petri were not unfavorable to the securities for the Apostolic succession in the person of the new Archbishop, the succeeding Laurentius Petersson, distinguished from his predecessor by the name of *Gothus*. The consecrator of this Archbishop was the venerable Finnish Bishop of Abo, Paulus Juusten, who had received his own consecration from Bishop Bothvid, the successor of Magnus Sommar, Bishop of Strengnäs. The large country of Finland, since 1810 forming that north-west corner of Russia, was at that time a part of Sweden, and the people are thoroughly Finnish to the present day.

• But there is a line of succession in these three Episcopates which is thoroughly intertwined with the Succession in Sweden proper. Thus the consecration of Bishop Bothvid of Strengnäs by the Metropolitan of Upsala has its counterpart in the act of the Finnish Bishop, Paulus Juusten, in the consecration of the new Archbishop of Upsala in 1575.

We may duly add, that the proofs for the validity of the several consecrations are produced by Dr. Nicholson from first sources, and with a clearness and sufficiency which can leave no doubt as to their authenticity and conclusiveness. Here the argument remains, so far as Dr. Nicholson's work is concerned; for no one any way versed in the history of the Reformed Churches since the last quarter of the sixteenth century can fail to see, that from that time on the Swedish Episcopate has as clear and open a record as the Church of England.

We may now supplement some observations as to the preservation of the historical continuity of the Swedish

Episcopate, as derived from those who were consecrated during the first half century after the beginning of the Reformation.

The recorded proofs of this historical continuity are singularly free from any serious suspicion. The archives of their respective dioceses have been remarkably well preserved. There has, indeed, been some criticism as to an instance of ecclesiastical informality in the time of King Sigismund, and another later in the diocese of Lund, but nothing at all affecting the propriety of any Episcopal consecration, according to the principles so well settled at the beginning of the Reformation. And from that time onward no vandalism or schism ever marred their ecclesiastical archives. Whatever turbulence was experienced in other countries at that period, resulting from civil wars or foreign invasions, the Church records of Sweden were preserved intact; and not a single cathedral, church, or any diocesan registry was destroyed by fire or suffered violence during all that long period of changes.

And when a century later, after the beginning of the Reformation, the period of the Thirty Years' War came on, the violence done to the libraries, churches, and literary archives of many countries on the Continent never crossed the belt of waters which kept that devastating war from the shores of Sweden. The bloody price which was paid for the freedom of the Reformed churches on the Continent, was that long series of sacrifices, begun by Gustavus Adolphus; and Sweden at unequal odds fought the battles of Protestantism in Europe, and at the peace of Westphalia in 1648 Sweden had preserved her own Church constitution, and her own archives were enriched by treasures derived from many parts of Europe.

The Church of Sweden has preserved her Succession through at least two parallel lines, joining and interlacing with each other, so that the result is that the Apostolic Succession of the Church of Sweden is much more valid than that of the Roman Succession in America and in some other

countries and periods where the Latin Succession hung upon a single cord instead of a triple one, as required by the Nicæan Canon. The Swedish Church has at least two separate lines of succession, albeit following the order of single consecrators.

But the Latin Church has done worse than in following the order of a single consecrating Bishop. Ever since the Council of Trent—nearly as far back as the Reformation in England—the Latin Church has disparaged and absorbed the Episcopate in the Supremacy of the Papacy. The old British Church, and certainly the Reformed Church of England, has a better record as to the observance of the Nicæan Canon than the Vatican Church. The Church of Rome has been guilty of many canonical irregularities—such as enforced and hurried consecrations of Bishops and Popes, sometimes taking a layman through all the orders of the Ministry in a few days, raising a Cardinal deacon to the Papacy, conferring orders almost as fast as the outward manipulation could be performed—and always subject to the fatal doctrine of *Intention*, which could vitiate the whole; and in later times, and not infrequently, consecrating bishops by a single consecrator, as in the case of Bishop Carrol, their first Archbishop in America.

The Anglican Church in all its branches is in a better position to defend its Succession than the Roman or the Swedish, and probably some of the existing Oriental Churches. But if we are ready to admit the validity of any Episcopate besides our own, we must settle some principles by which Apostolic Succession can be maintained at all, in any Church.

The *burden of proof* is in favor of that Church which can show the longest chain of many links, or a triple cord or cable, so interlaced that if any one strand is defective, the overlapping tension of the other strands will tighten a break in a single thread.

A cable with a triplex or manifold interlacing of many strands is a better illustration than a chain which is made



up of many links. For a chain may have a great many links, apparently all of them strong, but if there happens to be an occasional weak one, the strength of the chain is not greater than that of the weakest link. But a cable with threefold cords is likely to bear tension at every point alike. Analogy is not always a safe way of reasoning. But as applied to this subject, the analogy of a *web* or a *net*, serves our purpose better than a chain or a cable, for proving an unbroken Episcopate.

A net or a web at each corner forms a mesh or an angle interlaced with three other angles, running through the entire texture of the seamless fabric. Thus, each bishop, consecrated by three or more legitimate consecrators, is represented by the antecedent multiple, in an arithmetical ratio, through a series branching out into every preceding Episcopate, to the Apostles; so that, in point of fact, historically as well as on *a priori* ground, the Nicean Canon applied to the Apostolic Succession, under the analogy of a web or a net, would give us practically a complete demonstration. If an occasional little break in one strand or at the corner of a mesh in this great net should have happened, it could by no possibility invalidate the multiplex connections by which each threefold consecration joins on to the arithmetical ratio of antecedent consecrators, which must have made every consecration always valid at more points than one.

The Church of Sweden is in marked contrast with the so-called Episcopal Lutheran Church of Denmark and Norway. When Christian III. of Denmark invited Bugenhagen to provide a plan of doctrine, discipline, and worship for that country, the Danish Church was formulated at the Council of Odensee in 1539; and from that day on, Denmark and Norway have suffered from the imputation of a broken link. It is true that, unlike the Lutheran churches of Germany which thenceforward went on without Bishops, the united Church of Denmark and Norway was so deeply impressed with the need of an Episcopate,

that they formulated one—*ex re nata*; and their existing Episcopate, thus established by legislation and not derived by unbroken historical continuity, has kept on since 1539, with as apparent a regularity as in the Swedish, where no break of Episcopal connection has ever occurred. But as the present writer has had ample opportunity for knowing, there is among many of the leading churchmen of Denmark and Norway a peculiarly strong churchly feeling, in its best sense, and this feeling is only awaiting proper opportunities to assert itself. In 1867, the present Bishop of Iceland, belonging to Denmark (Bishop Petersson), attempted to secure an Anglican or American Bishop to assist in and ratify his consecration, but without success, owing to some legal technicalities.

The Church of Sweden has long been thoroughly Erastianized; but it has been no worse off, in this respect, than the Church of England was under the miserable rule which came in under William III., and continued for more than a century under the Hanover kings. It was under the ecclesiastical misrule of the first three Georges that our American colonies were for more than a century kept deprived of an Episcopate, which if it had been granted at an earlier date in our colonial formation, would have made the Anglo-American Church an overshadowing power long before we had to fight for our independence, and then to beg the English Parliament and Bishops to grant the pittance of the Canonical number of Bishops, in order to begin our American Episcopate and Succession, and for a long time to remain the little Benjamin among the tribes.

We feel sorely on this point; and yet we need not quarrel with Providence for what could not be helped, and which the Lord of the Church has since so wonderfully overruled. The Church of England allowed another quarter of a century to pass before she could break away from her iron-bound prejudices with regard to consecrating Bishops for countries beyond her home empire. When the first Bishop

of India, Dr. Middleton, was consecrated in 1814, the crust of prejudice was fairly broken through—and what a change these sixty-seven years has witnessed! The Church in Great Britain has now fifty Episcopates in the home empire, and seventy-one in foreign jurisdictions! The last two thirds of a century has formed a modern Epiphany, for the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles.

Now it is high time for the English and the Anglo-American Church to open their eyes to the call for Church communion with the Apostolic Church of Sweden. If the Swedish Church should be placed in recognized relations with the Anglican Church in its various branches, in all probability this might soon lead the way to the Churches of Denmark and Norway to mend the broken link and at length to fall into line.

And surely this fine Scandinavian race should be put right in its Church relations, and find her status acknowledged by all true Churchmen. The Church of Sweden should be a makeweight, and a sea-wall against Romanism on the one hand and a dead non-Episcopal Protestantism on the other, both in Europe and in our own land. This race includes over ten millions: four and a half for Sweden, about two millions for Denmark, about the same for Norway, while Russian Finland, which is chiefly Scandinavian, with the islands of the Baltic, would make up the complement of ten millions and a half.

But this subject comes nearer home to us in this country. There are over half a million of native-born Scandinavians, besides an immense number of the same extraction, in this country, the large majority of whom are Swedes. But they are here among us as sheep having no shepherd. The Quinquennial Diet of Sweden some years ago adopted forms of letters dismissory for her children emigrating to the States, which may possibly be utilized by a small portion of these immigrants. And some of our Bishops, in default of special legislation in our Church, have acted under the General Canon in regard to Foreign Churches,

and have received a few Swedish clergy on their letters dimissory from the Swedish National Church.

But the great bulk of the Swedes, as well as other Scandinavians in this country, have fallen into the hands of sects strongly opposed to any name or form of Episcopacy. The Angustana Synod, with its several branches in the West, is in its character at once Scandinavian and non-Episcopal, or rather anti-Episcopal. We should disarm these people of their prejudices, by disarming ourselves of our own. Our divisions and schools of Church politics have become a stone of stumbling to ourselves, and a rock of offense to a great people becoming a part of ourselves, socially and nationally, and yet lost to us in the communion of the Church.

Some of our own people would be scandalized on hearing of the Churchism of a large portion of the Swedish Church at home; and to others equally would be distasteful the bold dogmatism and extreme Lutheranism of another portion of the home Church of Sweden, and notably of the most of those who emigrate to this country. But people who live in glass houses should not throw stones. There is no school of advanced Ritualists among us who hold more advanced ideas than is common among Swedes at home. Their Bishops wear a pectoral cross of gold; a cope of crimson velvet, also highly embroidered in gold, the Episcopal miter, and the pastoral staff.

The general mode of performing the service, especially in the large churches, and in the public use of the sacraments, and the habitudes and modes of the people, are in some respects in striking conformity with the usages of the Latin Church. The service is called the High Mass, with the usual distinction of Matins and Vespers called by us the Morning and the Evening Prayer. Offensive as many such things among the Swedes are to our Protestant eyes and ears, the Swedish Churchmen speak innocently enough of their Mass among themselves, just as Romanists do in their ordinary speech. And yet there are no people so intensely Anti-Roman as the Swedes. The political

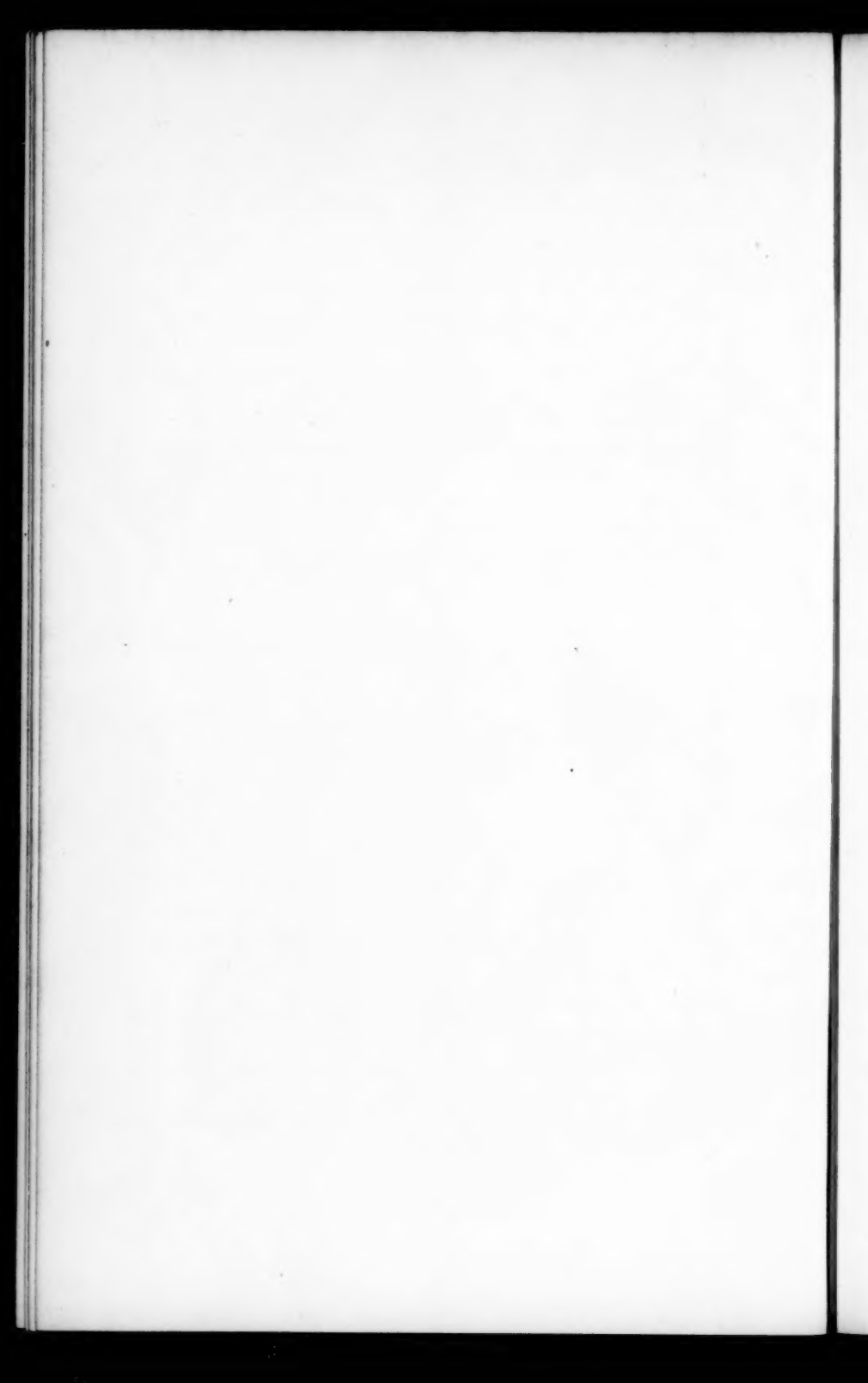
hostility descended from the Wasa dynasty, and the influence of the Thirty Years' War is only shadowed by the strong national Anti-Romish English feeling, so long fostered by the treachery and cruelty of the Stuart race.

Yet, on the other hand, the Swedes are suspiciously looked upon by many among us for their persistent adherence to the Lutheran dogmas which Dr. Pusey has never forgiven them for. But we ought to know how to appreciate the junction of a high ritual with a strong evangelicalism. It becomes any one who loves the Gospel to speak with caution and tenderness about that great staple and subject-matter of Lutheran preaching, the doctrine of Justification by Faith, which Luther himself called "*Articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*," the article by which the Church stands or falls. But from the days of S. Paul till now this has been a doctrine easily perverted, and a misapprehension of it is generally attended by a long train of dangerous consequences. And whenever the doctrine has been forced out of its legitimate limits, it has led to antinomianism or immorality.

The present fossilized condition of the Lutheran Church in Germany, without the conservation of Apostolic orders in her ministry, must be largely chargeable with a tendency to social and moral looseness.

It has been too much the fallacy of the Lutheran non-Episcopal bodies to give the foremost place to mere *dogma* instead of the Old Creeds witnessed by the Apostolic and Catholic Church. But the Swedish Church has its basis of conservatism, and her strong anchorage in her unbroken Episcopate, her ancient Creeds, and her legitimate Sacraments.

J. P. TUSTIN.



## TEMPORAL SALVATION.

**I**T is difficult for men living under the light which has followed Christ's advent to understand how limited the knowledge of spiritual things was in the preceding generations.

It looks as if mankind had passed through stages of spiritual growth such as are common in every child. The terms salvation and redemption were at first applied only to man's present life, though all that Christ revealed respecting them was dimly foreshadowed in God's primeval revelations.

From Adam to Moses salvation meant only deliverance from or victory over temporal enemies and evils, or earthly blessings as rewards for obedience to God's laws, and the redemption was from temporal death.

But as man knew himself to be immortal, and that God is holy and just, and he soon learned that righteousness and sin did not get their deserts in this life, and as death was one of the penalties for sin, though the future second death penalty does not appear to have been revealed to Adam, yet it was reasonable that he should expect some future consequences



would result from his obedience or disobedience of God's laws.

Moreover Enoch, the seventh from Adam, foretold Christ's coming to judge the world, but the prophecy was so vague that it might be supposed it would be in time and without reference to a future life; yet as he was afterwards translated from this world because he pleased God, that would be a reasonable probability as to some future consequences of man's conduct in the present life.

But there is no evidence that the doctrine of future rewards and punishments for deeds done in this life was ever urged as a motive for men to fear God and keep His commandments until the Law was given on Sinai, and then only vaguely and inferentially.

The primitive revelation and the rite of sacrifice preserved the sense of the enormity of sin, in God's sight, and its death penalty in this world rendered it probable that if it were not pardoned here, the future punishment would also be very severe, if not intolerable to a human nature; and it was this probability that then constituted man's responsibility.

In the first empires founded by Noah's sons in Assyria and Egypt, existing monuments and records prove that there was a universal belief among the people in a future life, and rewards and punishments there for deeds done here, and even of the possibility that they would be eternal.

God's first warning against idolatry gave the first intimation of a future punishment by fire in Hell; the worship of Nature, or the Solar Theory, appears to have been the first sin which was so threatened, and it was common among all the earlier Aryan races, and God cautioned the race to beware of the sin, lest they moved Him to jealousy, "For a fire is kindled in Mine anger, and shall burn unto the lowest Hell," and the context shows that this world was where the punishment would be.

And the Ophidolatry, or serpent worship, had reference to man's fall, and was rather a supplication to Satan than a worship, imploring him not to do them evil.

And the Dragon who guarded the golden Gates of Hesperides, who was slain by Hercules, was a myth of Satan's overthrow and casting into Hell for causing man's sin; and the Griffin and Python of ancient mythologies represent Satan as man's enemy and seeking his ruin.

And the oldest religions all taught the doctrines of immortality and a future judgment and punishments. The Egyptian Rhadamanthus was to be the future judge of men's spirits, and he was the second person of their triad. And the migrations of the race to the East extended their original Creed in that direction, where it was preserved by tradition and yet survives.

In the West the Greeks, having better preserved records, show a clearer knowledge of the original belief of mankind. Hades was the kingdom of the dead, divided into Elysium, where the spirits of the righteous are, and Tartarus, the abode of the wicked, both waiting a future judgment.

The first time salvation was mentioned in the Bible associated with rest in a future kingdom was in reference to the deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage, and their settlement in the Promised Land, though centuries before Abraham believed in a future city whose builder was God.

Notwithstanding all this testimony respecting future punishments and rewards, and that after the giving of the Law the Hebrew Sheol is represented as having a division called Gehenna, the Gospel doctrine respecting salvation was not positively taught as a motive for men to love and fear God, or that the rewards and punishments in a future life would be otherwise than as they are in this world; but as some lasted until life's end, that could not but suggest the possibility of future punishments lasting to the end, if there were no death, of the future life.

Yet even in the Golden Age of Hebrew literature and art, when all God's primitive revelations were developing into greater clearness and the dawn of Gospel light, the Psalmist never used the term salvation, or called God "the God of his salvation" in any other sense than in delivering him from

earthly enemies and evils, or for receiving earthly blessings.

And in those places which seem to point to a future eternal salvation the context proves the contrary ; for "the everlasting remembrance of the righteous" meant only a traditional earthly memorial ; and when he says he will take the cup of salvation and call on the name of the Lord, it was for benefits he had recently received ; and his saying that the death of His saints is precious in God's sight, was because of His approval of their lives, which he looked for after death ; and where he says the wicked will be turned into Hell, he meant only the corruption of the grave.

And all this helps us to understand S. John's saying, "that the light shined in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not ;" and S. Paul's words, "by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." By abolishing death he meant that Christ had revealed the immortality of the body as well as confirmed the survival of the spirit.

And there was no more injustice in God's at first dimly revealing the eternal rewards of Heaven and the eternal punishment in Hell, than there was in dimly revealing the Incarnation of His Son for the remission of sin, and for salvation from its eternal penalty : there would be the future result for conduct here, though nothing was said of their duration, and that probability was sufficient cause to influence mankind ; and both revelations were made as God saw best adapted to man's understanding in the infancy of the race, and in the dawn of the Gospel revelation.

Whatever was the nature of the idea the generations before Christ had respecting a future life and rewards and punishments, there was nothing in God's laws, or the way good and bad acts were treated here that would lead them to expect that hereafter they would be eternal, or otherwise than for a limited time, except the death penalty.

Because good and evil then speedily received their just recompense or reward, so might they reasonably conclude

that whatever the nature of the rewards and penalties were they would have the same temporal nature, to be repeated over and over again as often as they did good or evil, until Divine justice was *satisfied*, or Divine benevolence could endure no more, or man should be delivered from the power of sin.

Like all things devised by God for man's salvation the knowledge of future rewards and punishments gradually developed as man's capacity to comprehend and apply it to the duties of life increased or developed; yet all was sufficiently plain for man's temporal happiness and to fit him for his higher life until it was fully revealed, and no generation had any just cause of complaint, because it could work its happiness and salvation by the light it had.

#### ETERNAL SALVATION.

From man's creation to Christ God administered the moral government of this world by temporal rewards and punishments. Obedience to His laws was man's righteousness, and brought immediate temporal deliverances and blessings; and disobedience was speedily followed by temporal disasters and afflictions; yet there was an undertone of revelation that rendered it probable that the conduct of this life would have some relation to the future one, while that was not particularly urged as a motive to love and serve God.

The primitive and Hebrew covenants and systems of religion were the beginning of a revelation from God, that was prepared to develop into clearer light and more spiritual knowledge of God's will and design in man's creation and destiny, through a Redeemer to come, and all things relating to man's eternal life were hidden under types and shadows, and having no positive commands bearing on his future state.

Nevertheless the probability of future rewards and punishments for deeds done here, without reference to their perpetuity, was gradually revealed, and prophecies prepared the way for the full revelation of eternal salvation through

the Incarnation of a Divine Person called the Lord, which was one of the Hebrew titles of the Son of God.

There was an interval of the silence of God, no prophecies for four hundred years after Malachi, until near the time of the advent of the Son of God. The world meanwhile was waiting the long-expected Deliverer of mankind from the power of Satan, sin and death, and the new revelation of eternal salvation by opening the kingdom of Heaven to all believers.

Accordingly the first announcement of the new epoch and of the Saviour was by the Angel of the Lord to Joseph, in the birth of a miraculous child conceived by the Holy Ghost, to be called Jesus, so named by the angel, "for He shall save His people from their sins." This was a promise of a new salvation, not from temporal enemies and disasters, but from their sins.

Soon after that the Angel of the Lord appeared to Zacharias, and announced that his wife would have a son, the messenger of Jesus, "who would give the knowledge of salvation unto His people by the remission of their sins," which predicted the revelation of the eternal salvation He would make known.

Soon after this communication, the Angel Gabriel appeared to the Blessed Virgin, and told her she should conceive and "bring forth a son and call His name Jesus," and "of His kingdom there shall be no end," and this was a promise which involved all relations to the kingdom as eternal.

Again, when the angels announced Jesus' birth to the shepherds of Bethlehem, they said, "Unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord," thus announcing Him as the long-expected Messiah, who had come with the glad tidings of eternal salvation.

Again, when Jesus was brought to the Temple, to have the offering made for Him according to the law, devout Simeon took Him in his arms and blessed God, saying, "Mine eyes have seen Thy salvation." It was no longer the tem-

poral salvation obtained by man's righteousness through obedience to the law, but God's salvation, given to man through the offering of His eternal Son for man's redemption from Satan's power and death.

And the prophetess Anna, coming in at the same time, gave thanks unto the Lord, and "spake of Him to all who looked for redemption in Jerusalem;" and the redemption was another revelation respecting the new salvation, which was the restoration of man's body from the ruin Satan and sin had brought on it, to save him from the power of Satan, sin and death here, and from the power of the second death hereafter, and to exalt him to an eternal life with God in His eternal kingdom in Heaven.

This was the proclamation God sent by the angels from Heaven respecting the eternal salvation He had sent His incarnate Son to reveal and accomplish, and John the Baptist announced Christ's mission and kingdom as at hand, and the people must prepare for them by repentance, confession of sins and baptism. This was the preparation for the new covenant Christ was to establish in His blood.

And he declared Jesus as one "mightier than I," and "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire, saying, "He will gather His wheat into the granery, but will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire."

That was an additional fact added to the angelic proclamation of eternal salvation, that there would be an eternal punishment also for all who refused to repent, confess their sins, and be admitted into Christ's kingdom by the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire.

After John had been a year preparing the way for Jesus, He began His mission by preaching and working miracles, and then delivered His Sermon on the Mount, declaring the fundamental doctrines of His Gospel, and of its future results on those who received or rejected it.

And He promised eternal salvation to all who obeyed it, "for great is your reward in Heaven," and eternal death for all who disobeyed. It were better to cut off a right hand, or

pluck out a right eye, "than that the whole body should be cast into Hell," which He afterwards said is a world of unquenchable fire.

Thus He began to lift the veil which had hidden the spiritual world from man's knowledge, and introduced the new doctrines of eternal salvation and eternal punishment as motives to influence human conduct; and instead of temporal rewards He warned His disciples that He had come to bring a sword, and that they must expect persecution from the world, and enemies in their own households, and tribulation instead of temporal blessings in bearing a daily cross in doing their duties to God and man, and the promise of future eternal salvation must console them, while they were being made perfect through suffering for it.

Thus Christ changed the Priesthood, and the continual sacrifice of animal-blood-shedding, and the temporal salvation of the law, into the new spiritual priesthood and sacraments of the Gospel, by which the eternal salvation was to be secured through the one sacrifice and blood of Christ.

And by His own human life and Divine revelations He made known more of God's nature and man's eternal destiny than was ever before known; and He entered into this world's strife in a human nature, to be made perfect by suffering, and to atone for its sins by His death, that that nature might be glorified in the Godhead, and assure His disciples that He had the power to give them eternal life.

And He not only made these changes, and this new way to obtain eternal salvation, but He established His Church, and sent the Holy Spirit to make them effectual, and impel men to so do their duties as to obtain eternal salvation to Heaven, and eternal salvation from Hell, which shows how much larger our knowledge and how much better our condition is under the Gospel than former generations were under the Law.

And thus Christ made these doctrines Divine axioms, not of man nor from man, but delivered on His authority as the Son of God, He who came from Heaven, and who created



Hell for the devil and his angels and men who would be their dupes. He not only first revealed these facts, but He first taught them as motives to influence man's conduct, and urged them as dogmas of His religion, and His veracity is pledged for their truth.

Ancient Jews and Gentiles believed in the survival of man's spirit after death; but Christ first taught that there will be a resurrection of the body, made spiritual by its union with His spirit, and because it will be immortal, therefore its future rewards or punishments will be eternal, for the word applied to things of this world means as lasting as time, and to things of the spirit world as lasting as eternity.

There are several things in the New Testament that look as if some of the Apostles expected this eternal salvation would finally be universal for mankind; but a better understanding of Christ's teaching utterly controverts the belief and expectation.

#### ETERNAL PUNISHMENT.

God's primeval revelations showed it probable that there would be a future account to be rendered of men's conduct in this life, and the possibility that the rewards and punishments might be as lasting as their future life—eternal if that were eternal.

And that probability, only outshadowed at the beginning, grew into greater clearness by successive revelations, though never positively urged as a motive to influence human conduct until the incarnation of the Son of God who proclaimed it as a dogma of His religion, with the promise of an eternal life of glory with God in Heaven, as the final revelation of God respecting man's future destiny.

Whenever and wherever the possibility of eternal punishment was considered there must have been as there now are doubters respecting it, based on a belief in the goodness, justice and mercy of God, which caused the hope that the language was either figurative, or that, when the ends of Divine justice had been accomplished in punishing impeni-

tent sinners, then there would be a redemption of them from Hell, and sin would be banished from the universe.

That remarkable discourse of S. Peter in the Temple not long after our Lord's Ascension looks as if he expected such a final result, saying of Christ, "whom the Heavens must receive, until the time of the Restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all His holy prophets, since the world began."

It was possibly imagined to be a prediction of a universal restitution of all wicked angels and men from Hell, to be restored to God's favor; but there is no warrant for such a belief, for it does not refer to a restoration of the wicked from eternal punishment, but to a universal reign of righteousness brought about by Christ, and the end of Satan's power, evil being exterminated everywhere but in Hell, creation made good again as God pronounced it when it came fresh from His hands and before sin had defiled it,—with the one only dark spot of Hell, that will no more mar the goodness and glory and justice of God's moral government of the universe than one dark mote in the earth's atmosphere obscures the brightness of the sun.

Hell being the Prison of the Universe, for the reception of all its evil, its punishment will be for the ends of eternal justice, and what now looks cruel and unmerciful because we do not know God's reasons for it will, when we know them, appear to us, as they do to Him, just and good, because they will be seen essential for the peace and best interests of His eternal kingdom, as surely as His seeming injustice, in the permission of sin and the sufferings of His Son in our nature for our deliverance from sin and Satan and our eternal salvation, now appear best to us.

God is holy, and none unholy can live in His presence. We do not know what would be the consequences of pardoning unrepented and willful sin without an infinite penalty, and therefore it is impossible for us to reason correctly about God's doings until we know His reasons.

There runs through revelation from Genesis to Malachi

the proclamation of a coming Redeemer, and seven hundred years before Christ's birth Isaiah announced Him as Immanuel, God incarnate, to save men from their sin and its consequences, Himself a sufferer to accomplish it; and there must have been some terrible future consequences resulting from unrepented, willful sin, or the Son of God would not have entered this world's strife, and submitted to death in a human nature to save man from them.

In Christ there were correlated the life of God and the life of man, the laws of matter and the laws of spirit, the forces of the visible and invisible worlds. John the Baptist first dimly revealed this mystery when he foretold that Jesus would baptize with water and with fire, or the Holy Spirit. God is called a "consuming fire," and through Christ the element of water and the attribute of the Spirit combine to regenerate Christians, and make them spiritual children of God fitted to live in His kingdom and presence forever; baptism translates us from the kingdom of nature into the kingdom of grace instituted by Christ, and He said, "My kingdom is not of this world."

And if, with such knowledge of God's love and mercy as is revealed in the Gospel for us men and our eternal salvation, any will not repent but harden their spirits in wickedness, it is not probable that when they have been consigned to Hell they will repent, and indeed they cannot, for God warns us there is no repentance there, and if they could there will be no Mediator between Heaven and Hell, for Christ's mediatorial office will end at the Resurrection.

Moreover as rebel angels and men will continue rebels, and would war against God if released, what else can He do but continue their punishment? Christ who is to judge them has cut off all hope of release by His foretold condemnation, saying to those on His left hand, "Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels," but "the righteous into life eternal."

And if it were possible for the punishment to end, so would it be for eternal life, and that would destroy the joy

and glory of Heaven. God's purpose in the temporal punishment of sin is to make men repent and to redeem them from the power of Satan, sin and death; but the eternal punishment is because they would not repent, and thereby formed a character that cannot repent but will hate God, and sin forever, and for such rebel angels and men Hell is prepared; God will not punish man's temporal sin with eternal punishment, but eternal sinning will cause eternal suffering.

Sin is a violation of God's laws to prevent suffering. It caused suffering in Heaven, and the expulsion of the sinning angels. It caused the introduction of suffering and death among men on earth, and the Incarnation of the Son of God, and His suffering and death. And it will cause eternal suffering in Hell, because it will be perpetual there.

The penitent sinner pays the temporal death penalty for his sins, as the impenitent one does; but there is the second death, a life of suffering in Hell with no last gasp to end it.

And we have not only no reason to complain that God so created us, but cause to love and adore Him for it, because without a free will to sin we should not be in the image of God, nor be capable to have an eternal life with Him in Heaven!

And no one will be eternally punished except it be by his own free will, contrary to God's will—for Christ died for all who will be lost as well as all who will be saved—and against the strivings of God's Holy Spirit, and the remonstrances of his own conscience, and refusing to use the means God provided at an infinite cost to save him from it.

Moreover our present life is a battle for and with God against sin and Satan for our temporal and eternal happiness, our salvation from Hell and our salvation to Heaven; and it is a great honor from God to be so created that we fight His enemies as well as our own, and that our conquests will be for His honor and the glory of His eternal kingdom, which through Christ we shall be inheritors of.

One popular objection that it would be unjust in God to

punish temporal sin eternally is thus conclusively answered; but another objection is, that all mankind are sinners, and from the aspects of the world a large majority of mankind will be condemned to Hell.

It is true that so the world looks from our human standpoint, but not from God's as it is revealed to us, and we could not reconcile this aspect with God's love and mercy if He had not furnished the means.

The ante-Christos Jews were God's only covenanted people, and believed in a future salvation only for themselves; but their Scriptures prove that God's love and mercy are wider than their narrow views, and reach to all mankind. God's promise, "whosoever the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness and doeth that which is lawful and right he shall save his soul alive," was for Gentiles as well as Jews, and the Gentiles were as religious with their rites as the Jews.

There are many promises in the Bible which look as if they were for all mankind; for example, "the Lord is long suffering, forgiving iniquity and sin," which includes all sinners whether in or out of His covenant, and again a universal promise, "His mercy is over all His works," and He calls on "all the ends of the earth to look unto Him and be saved." Such promises open a wide door of hope for the salvation of all mankind who have believed in God, and tried to do their duty to the best of their ability according to the light they had.

But the Gospel opens a wider field for hope of the salvation of a large majority of our race: first, Christ came to call sinners and died for the salvation of all; and second, He prayed on the Cross that His enemies might be pardoned because they knew not what they were doing, and on this we may ground large hopes of forgiveness for multitudes of Pagans and Heathen.

Christ's words to the Pharisees teach us what incompetent judges we are of the mystery of salvation, for He told them the publicans and harlots would go into the kingdom of

Heaven before them; and He said, "Other sheep He had, not of the Jewish fold, and they shall hear My voice."

Moreover one other of Christ's sayings makes it certain that a majority of mankind, from one single act of God, will be saved, for He said of little children, "Of such is the kingdom of God," and more than half of the race die before committing willful sin, and by the mercy of God millions of others will be saved who never heard of His name or covenant.

And Christ confirmed this opinion, after His Ascension to Heaven, to S. Peter when He sent him to the Roman centurion Cornelius, and made him confess that in every nation he who feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him; and S. Paul said, as many as have sinned without the law shall perish without the law, which implies the largest measures of Divine mercy; and this removes another objection to eternal punishment.

Finally, eternal fire will not consume immortal bodies, even were it like fire from combustion of matter here. But we do not know what the nature of the fire will be. It will be in a spiritual world and so must be spiritual. We live in a fluid atmosphere here where oxygen, one of the most combustible elements, abounds and it helps to sustain life.

What Hell fire is we do not know. God is said to be a "consuming fire;" this is figurative; Hell is said to be a fire of brimstone, which is a material substance, and Hell is a spiritual world, and it may be used figuratively to express the intolerable sufferings and anguish which will forever avenge themselves on the eternally sinning sinner, but whatever its nature it will be eternal.

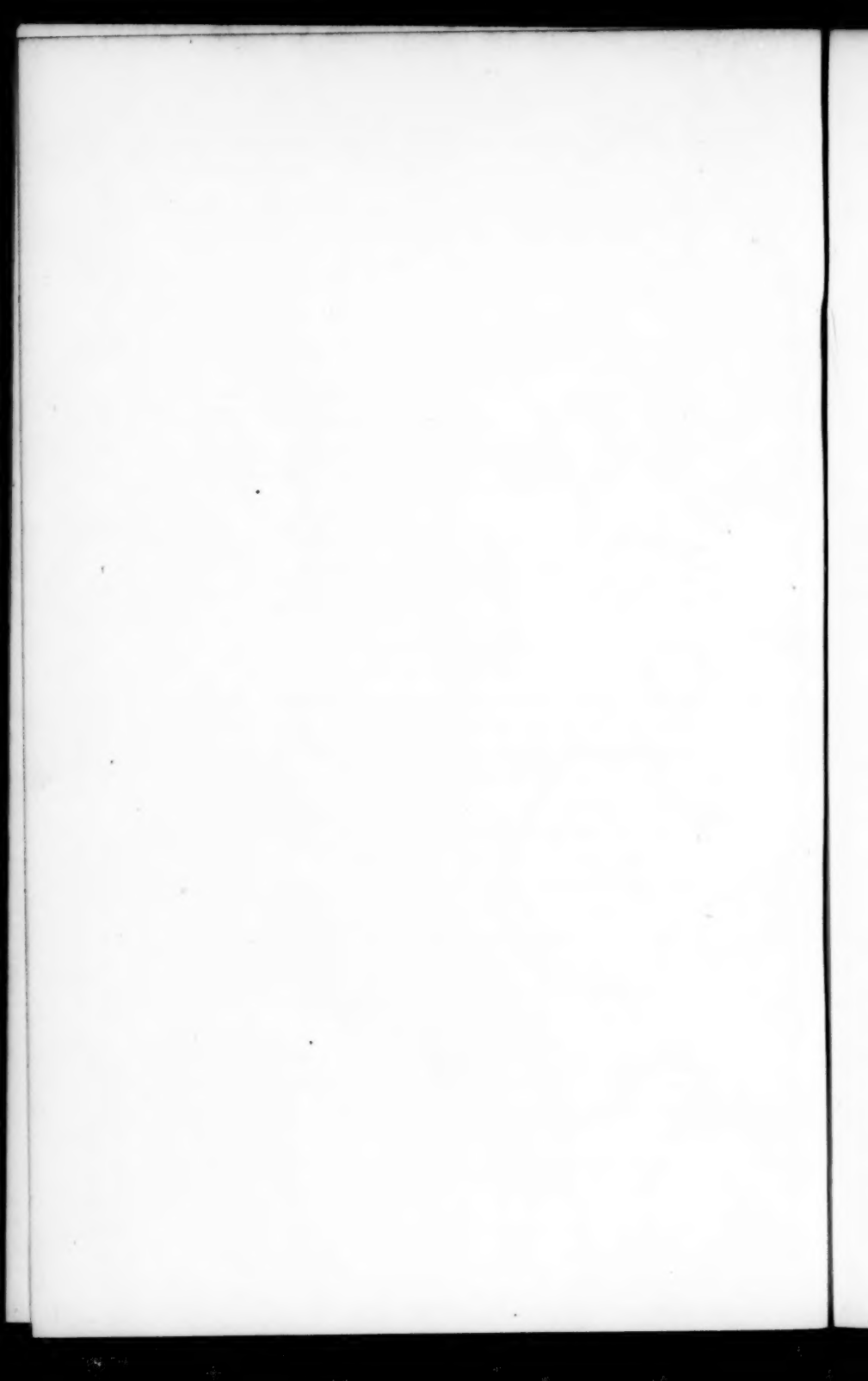
How wonderful and consistent are God's revelations respecting the temporal and eternal death of mankind! They surpass that grandest discovery of science, the correlation of the physical forces of nature—because they teach the unity and universality of the laws of the visible and invisible parts of the universe, and show an intimate relation of them as a whole!

The earthly law is, "the soul that sinneth shall die," and sin and death are universal here; temporal death, or extinction of the soul and the return of the body to its original elements, is the penalty.

And the eternal law is eternal death; the resurrection body will be spiritual and immortal, and its punishment is called the second death (Rev. xx. 14), because it is suffering that will neither destroy the spiritual body nor ever end. Sin will have the same power to cause misery there that it does here, so sinning and suffering will go on eternally.

C. C. ADAMS.





## S. PAUL'S VISION OF CHRIST, AND ITS PHYSICAL EFFECTS.

THE conversion of S. Paul is beyond question one of the main bulwarks of the Christian Faith. It is not surprising that in the last century Lord Lyttleton having in his earlier years entertained doubts of the truth of Christianity, was at length in middle life fully convinced of it by the careful and candid study of the history of this event in connection with the undisputed writings of the Apostle. "I thought," he said, "the conversion and apostleship of S. Paul alone, duly considered, was of itself a demonstration sufficient to prove Christianity to be a Divine revelation." At the request of his friend Mr. Gilbert West, the author of a very valuable monograph on the Resurrection of Christ, he committed the argument to writing in the form in which it still exists, as "Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of S. Paul." The position he took up in that short but most convincing treatise has never up to the present day been overthrown. The dilemma to which he reduced his opponents is simply unanswerable. S. Paul, if not a monument of the converting grace of God, must have been either an impostor, or an enthusiast, or a dupe of others.

Impostor he could not have been, since in the most literal and unqualified sense he counted all things but loss for Christ; and so far from obtaining credit or power or wealth, or gratifying any of his baser passions by his change of faith, he sacrificed all in the service of his Divine Master. Neither can we imagine him to have been an enthusiast who by the force of an overheated imagination imposed upon himself; for the qualities which mark the enthusiast, such as great heats of temper, ignorance, credulity, and vanity, were all, with the exception of the first, utterly wanting in his character, and his naturally impetuous spirit was never suffered to rule and darken his understanding. Was he, then, the victim of the deceit of others? This, Lord Lyttleton justly asserts to have been both morally and physically impossible for the disciples of Jesus. The one account of this wonderful change alone remains. It must have been the work of the Omnipotent Spirit of God, and an irrefutable evidence for all time of the reality as well as the power of the Gospel. This to most unprejudiced minds would seem the inevitable conclusion from these premises.

It has, however, been left to that distinguished modern champion of Deism in France, M. Renan, to devise a very different explanation of the matter. In his "*Origines du Christianisme*" he draws largely, as usual, upon the resources of his fertile imagination, and supposes the Apostle to have been subject to over-excitement of brain ("*exaltation de son cerveau*"), which came to its height on his way to Damascus. Under this influence he was led to ask himself if he was sure that after all he was not opposing the work of God. The wise judgment of his master Gamaliel, some time before pronounced in the Sanhedrim, came back to his mind, "If this counsel or work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God" (Acts v. 38, 39). In fact, M. Renan imagines that Saul while in this highly-wrought mental condition adopted this most judicious and unimpassioned reasoning, and was so led suddenly without

any other motive to reverse his whole line of conduct, and henceforward preach the faith which he had been resolutely bent on destroying. Conscious, it might appear, of the weakness of this position, the French *savant* has recourse to other equally shallow and inconsistent hypotheses. He then imagines that the purity and patience of the Christians whom he had persecuted now so impressed the mind and heart of their great enemy, that he seemed to see the benign face of their Master, who had inspired them with such a spirit, regarding him with an air of pity and tender reproach. Thereupon physical weakness and fatigue caused by extreme heat and the length of his journey, with possibly some beginnings of ophthalmia, so affected the over-excited traveler, that he fell to the earth as if he were struck by lightning in a kind of swoon. All seemed dark as night around him, while strange flashes of light passed before his disordered vision. To complete the effect, the subtle fancy of the writer conjures up a sudden storm, while in the midst of Saul's "hallucinations" the Saviour appears to him and he hears His piercing appeal, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?" Then deepest compunction filled his breast. He saw himself covered with the blood of Stephen, was touched to the quick and completely prostrated. In fact, according to M. Renan, this, the most remarkable transformation of character on record, was the combined result of an overheated brain, an exhausted body, a suddenly awakened conscience, ocular delusion, and a storm! We need not pause here to expose this extraordinary tissue of illogical reasonings from baseless fancies. We simply leave it to the reader's intelligence to estimate it at its true value, and just mention it as the best account, which this eminent member of the Sceptical School in France has been able to furnish, of this great event. It is worthy of mention in one respect, as admitting in the main the veracity of the history in the Acts of the Apostles, and may serve to confirm rather than weaken our faith in the striking, unvarnished narratives of S. Luke and S. Paul.

But it is a matter of much more serious moment that a view in some respects very similar should have been admitted as not improbable by so able and eloquent a Christian writer as Canon Farrar, in his "Life and Work of S. Paul." This must be regarded as a very serious blot on the brilliant pages of what is upon the whole a very valuable contribution to English Theology. He is indeed very far from questioning the reality of the fact of S. Paul's conversion. He fully admits it, with all its train of weighty and blessed consequences. But when he comes to treat of the manner in which it was effected, instead of accepting the plain and obvious meaning of the narrative, he casts a haze of rationalizing mists over the appearance of the risen Lord. "Had he [S. Paul] been asked about the long controversies which have arisen in modern days as to whether the appearance of the risen Christ to him was objective or subjective, I am far from sure that he would have even understood them. He uses indeed of the very event the term 'vision.' 'I was not disobedient,' he says to King Agrippa, 'to the heavenly vision.' But the word used for vision means a waking vision (*ὄπτασία*), and in what conceivable respect could S. Paul have been more overpoweringly convinced that he had in very truth seen and heard and received a revelation and a mission from the risen Christ?" So far, so well. All this is unfortunately qualified in the following words: "Is the essential miracle rendered less miraculous by a questioning of that objectivity, to which the language seems decidedly to point? Are the eye and the ear the only organs by which definite certainties can be conveyed to the human soul? Are not rather these organs the poorest, the weakest, the most likely to be deceived? . . . Whether the vision and the voice came through the dull organs of sense, or in presentations infinitely more intense, more vivid, more real, more unutterably convincing to the spirit by which only things spiritual are discerned—this is a question to which those only will attach importance to whom the soul is nothing but the

material organism, and who cannot imagine anything real except that which they can grasp with both hands" (vol. i. p. 194). Thus Canon Farrar leaves this most important question enveloped in a cloud of most unsatisfactory and indefinite mistiness. If it would have been hard for S. Paul with his naturally discriminating as well as well-disciplined mind, to say nothing of the singular gifts of the Holy Ghost with which he was endowed, to distinguish between what was subjective and objective in his own experience, it cannot be surprising if uninspired, ordinary mortals are perplexed by the Canon's reading of that experience. Although the Apostle could not have been familiar with those modern philosophic terms in which writers of the German school and their admirers so much delight, his very language in 2 Cor. xii. 2 plainly implies that he fully recognized the distinction intended by them. Speaking of his later vision of his Saviour, when he was "caught up into Paradise," he leaves it doubtful whether his rapture was bodily or only spiritual. "Whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether apart from the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth." Here he shows himself perfectly alive to the distinction between the two states, but cannot positively determine in which he then was. But when he is referring to what occurred on the road to Damascus, his words present a very striking contrast to the uncertainty so candidly avowed with reference to the Paradisaical vision. Thus, in his defense before Agrippa, he represents the Lord as saying, "To this end have I appeared (*ᾧφθην*) unto thee." In his first epistle to the Corinthians (xv. 8), enumerating the various appearances of the risen Christ, all of which were most truly bodily and not merely spiritual,—intensely objective,—and speaking in the same breath of his former enmity as a persecutor, he adds, "Last of all He *appeared* (*ᾧφθην*) to me also, as to one born out of due time." In the same epistle (ix. 1) he appeals to his having beheld the Saviour as a proof of his claim to Apostleship: "Am I not an Apostle? have I not *seen* (*ἑώρακα*) the Lord?" Again in 2 Cor.

v. 16 he writes, "Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet henceforth know we Him no more." The Corinthians certainly had not thus seen Christ. S. Paul must mean himself, and though it is quite possible that he may have seen Him before His resurrection, we have no evidence on the subject, and it is far more consistent with the above statements that he should be alluding to the appearance of the risen Jesus at his conversion, which had since been followed by an ever-deepening knowledge of Him in the spirit. These, then, are S. Paul's own very positive testimonies to the objective reality of the appearance of Christ to him. And if to these we add the words of Ananias to the blinded persecutor during his three days of darkness, which must have fallen upon his heart like a ray of pure warm sunshine upon his sightless eyeballs, "Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, who *appeared* unto thee in the way which thou camest, hath sent me that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost," the chain of inspired declarations on the subject seems complete. The obvious and natural impression they convey to an intelligent but unprejudiced mind is certainly in favor of an objective appearance. If words are to have any meaning, it is evidently intended that we should understand that S. Paul with his bodily eyes, and not with any kind of second-sight or in a trance or vision, actually beheld that Saviour whom in ignorance and unbelief he was persecuting. This view is strikingly confirmed by the remarks of the author of "Supernatural Religion." After discussing the other appearances of the risen Jesus, and attempting to show them to have been mere ocular delusions, of which S. Paul accepted the reports from S. Peter and the rest without sufficient inquiry, he proceeds to examine the former Apostle's own testimony. In doing so, he writes: "The question therefore arises: Was the appearance to Paul of the same character as the former? *Paul very evidently considers that it was.* He uses the very same word when he says, "He was *seen* of me," that he employs in stating



that "He was seen of Cephas" and the rest, and he classes all the appearances together in precisely the same way" (*Supernatural Religion*, iii., 499). This is an important admission from such a source, and shows that in the view of this writer the great central fact of the Resurrection of Christ and His appearance to S. Paul stand or fall together. If Jesus were visible only to the mind's eye of the persecutor of Himself and His servants, then He may have been seen by Peter, the twelve, the five hundred brethren, and James, in the same visionary and uncertain manner. In short, any attempt to undermine the objective reality of the one revelation of the Saviour will more or less weaken our confidence in the testimony of the others. Without, therefore, here undertaking to answer the objections urged in that pernicious work against the general grounds on which the Christian Church has accepted the grand and blessed truth that Christ is risen indeed, as the foundation of all her teaching and the source of all her life, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to point out the logical results of questioning, as Canon Farrar has done, the literal truth of both S. Paul's and S. Luke's statements on this subject. It is indeed matter for deep regret that so gifted and competent a Theologian should have condescended to follow M. Renan in tracing Saul's conversion to what he supposes to have been the inner causes working previously in his mind, and then leave it as quite an open question whether our Lord did manifest Himself to him in the actual majesty of His glorified humanity or not.

Very happily, however, the Canon, in a most valuable excursus to his work, has furnished us with materials which greatly help to establish the opposite position. In discussing the physical effects left by the appearance on the road to Damascus upon the bodily organs of the Apostle, Dr. Farrar seems to rise above the vague and misty questionings in which he had previously become involved. The nature of the thorn, or stake, in the flesh, about which so much has been written, thus assumes a more practical

importance than is generally assigned it. Of course it cannot be decided with positive certainty; but taken in connection with the three days' blindness in Damascus, and the references to his bodily infirmities in his epistles, it would appear most probably some affliction originally caused by the Divine Glory which he beheld at his conversion, and afterward made by the hand of God to pierce his flesh more deeply and sharply at the time of his rapture into the third heaven. But what was it? Most persons will agree with Canon Farrar that it could not have been any spiritual solicitations of the devil, as Gerson, Luther, and Calvin maintained. He describes it as a thorn in the *flesh*, and he was not of a temperament, like Luther's, peculiarly open to such temptation. Equally strong are the objections to the view of the most eminent Roman Catholic divines, that it was some form of carnal temptation. Into these conjectures we need not enter. Passing over also as unworthy of notice the notion of some of the early fathers that it was opposition and persecution from the Jews or other enemies of the faith, we are brought to the only two really credible solutions of the problem, which may prove to be one. Of these the first is epilepsy. "It is painful, it is recurrent, it opposes an immense difficulty to all exertion, it may at any time cause a temporary suspension of work, it is intensely humiliating to the person who suffers from it, it exercises a repellent effect on those who witness its distressing manifestations. Further, S. Paul himself connects his infirmity with his trances and visions, and the soul of man is so constituted that any direct intercourse with the unseen world does tend to a violent disturbance of the nervous organism." Canon Farrar, however, rather inclines to the belief that the Apostle suffered *further* from acute *ophthalmia*, which also fulfills in every particular the conditions of the problem. This may have resulted naturally and providentially from the circumstances through which S. Paul had passed. "We know that he was physically blinded by the gleam of light which surrounded him when he *saw* the risen Lord.

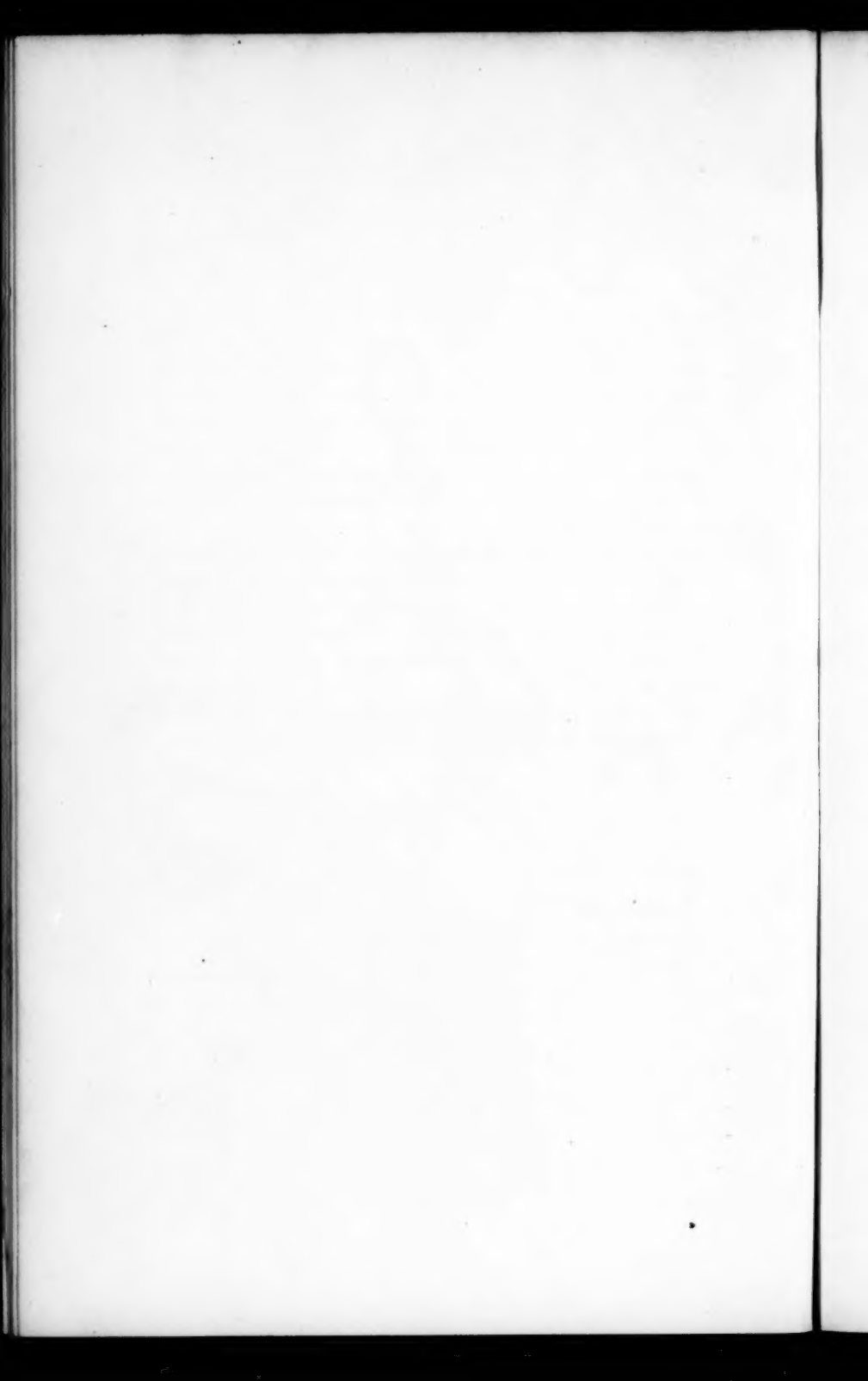
The whole circumstances of that event would have been most likely to leave his eyes inflamed and weak. His stay in the desert and in Damascus, regions notorious for the prevalence of the disease, would have tended to develop the mischief when it had once been set up." This hypothesis also is remarkably confirmed by his other allusions to his personal infirmities. Thus in Gal. iv. 13 he writes of an infirmity of the flesh, on account of which he was detained in their country and so given a longer opportunity for preaching the Gospel to them. What could be more likely than that this incurable malady, combined with his affection of the eyes, may have been aggravated by his sojourn there? Moreover, he calls it his temptation or trial, a term which singularly reminds us of his thorn in the flesh, described in the second epistle to the Corinthians as "the messenger of Satan to buffet" him. He commends his brethren for not despising or rejecting (*ἐξεπύρσαστε*) it, as they might naturally have been disposed to do when he was the victim of so loathsome a disorder. On the contrary, he asserts that such was the warmth of their early attachment to him as their father in Christ, that they were ready to dig out their own *eyes* and give them to him. How strange and extravagant, even to an Oriental, would this language appear, if the writer were not suffering from weakness of vision! Then we have the fact that he always employed an amanuensis, and that the letter to the Galatians was the only one written by his own hand, the large rude characters of which he appeals to as an evidence of his strong affection for them. The fact that he had with great personal inconvenience strained his vision to use the stylus himself, was a touching proof of the depth of his concern for their spiritual welfare. "See," he says, "with how large letters I have written to you with mine own hand" (Gal. vi. 11, Revised Version). If, too, the effects of this infirmity were painfully visible on his person, and were the life-long results of his vision of the Saviour, they might well be included amongst the marks or brands of service he bore in his body proving him

indeed the slave of the Lord Jesus (Gal. vi. 17). Nor is this all. To these and similar allusions to his feeble health and imperfect sight we may add the indications we find in the Acts (so natural for a medical writer to observe) of that keen, fixed gaze which persons partially blind or short-sighted generally fix upon an object. Thus when he was about to heal the cripple at Lystra he "fastened his eyes upon him." And when he was on his trial before the Sanhedrim, and was looking steadfastly upon his judges, it is difficult to understand how he should have failed to recognize the High Priest upon the bench unless there were some defect in his vision. It is true that the same word (*ἀτενίσκειν*) is used by S. Luke of the Apostle Peter, but in this latter instance it certainly seems to have a special significance with regard to S. Paul.

One more circumstance pointing in the same direction must not be omitted. It is the touching fact, so often incidentally alluded to in his epistles, of his dependence on the kind offices of his brethren. Unlike the other apostles and missionaries in modern days, he never seems to have traveled alone. Barnabas, or Silas, or Timothy was always chosen to attend and minister to him. Luke, "the beloved physician," was frequently at his side. To be "left at Athens alone" was evidently no small trial to the Apostle, and submitted to only because he could no longer forbear to send Timothy to the Thessalonian Church, about whose welfare he was deeply anxious. During his second imprisonment at Rome, the desertion of his followers appears to have touched him most keenly. "Only Luke is with me," he pathetically writes to his beloved Timothy, and adds, "Take Mark and bring him with thee; for he is useful to me for ministering" (2 Tim. iv. 11, Revised Version). Such close clinging to human friendship might seem somewhat weak and effeminate, unworthy of the strong faith and manly independence of God's chosen vessel of grace and special ambassador to the Gentile world. But when we think of the enfeebling and depressing effects on his whole constitution which would

be produced by epilepsy, and the helplessness and sense of dependence that would be the inevitable result of defective vision, the painful position of S. Paul is easily understood. Such then are the facts, gathered from his history and writings, which serve to support our hypothesis. It is true that the proofs are simply circumstantial, but taken together they form a fairly strong chain of probabilities. We are very far from building our faith in S. Paul's wonderful conversion, much less in Christianity, on such conjectures. Connect them, however, with the positive statements of inspiration above cited, and all doubt about the objective reality of the risen Saviour's manifestation to the misguided persecutor should be removed from the believer in the supreme authority of Holy Scripture. In an age of scepticism, when not only avowed unbelievers but leading teachers in the church are yielding to the too general disposition to eliminate the miraculous element from the Bible, and to pare down its positive declarations to the low level of modern intellectualism, we welcome such indirect confirmations of its historic truth as all the more precious because undesigned.

WILLIAM BURNET.



## LITERARY NOTICES.

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### I. PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIOLOGY.

*Kant's Critique of Pure Reason.* A critical exposition by George S. Morris, Ph.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

This is the first volume in a proposed series of "German Philosophic Classics for English Readers and Students." The design of the projector is well stated in the preface, as follows:

"Each volume will be devoted to the critical exposition of some one masterpiece belonging to the history of German philosophy. The aim in each case will be to furnish a clear and attractive statement of the special substance and purport of the original author's argument, to interpret and elucidate the same by reference to the historic and acknowledged results of philosophic inquiry, to give an independent estimate of merits and deficiencies, and especially to show, as occasion may require, in what way German thought contains the natural complement, or the much-needed corrective, of British speculation.

"It is intended that the series, when completed, shall consist of ten or twelve volumes, founded on the works of Leibnitz, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. It will thus furnish in effect a history of the most conspicuous and permanently influential movement in the history of German thought, and its general object may be stated to be to render reasonably accessible to the intelligent Eng-



lish reader a knowledge of German philosophic thought in its leading outlines, and at the same time to furnish the special student with a valuable introduction and guide to more comprehensive studies in the same direction."

Prof. Morris has secured the co-operation of scholarly men, and, doubtless, a brilliant success awaits his enterprise in this field of literature. In preparation already there are "Kant's Ethics," by President Porter; "Kant's Critique of Judgment," by Prof. Robert Adamson; "Schelling's Transcendental Idealism," by Prof. John Watson; "Hegel's Logic," by Dr. Wm. T. Harris; and "Hegel's Aesthetics," by Prof. J. S. Kidney.

Prof. Morris has proven his ability in this line of work by his "British Thought and Thinkers." His familiarity with the history and results of philosophical theories in England and on the continent of Europe, together with his exceptional mental adaptation to speculative processes of thinking, give him special qualifications for such labor. His whole trend of mind marks him as a critical exegete in philosophy. Again, he wields a trenchant pen, and knows how to clarify the confused or opaque ratiocination of other writers by terse and compact statement of their object and method.

In this book he has done good work by simplifying and illumining what was abstruse and obscure. He has made Kant appreciable by those who *will* not or *cannot* spare the time or expend the talent upon his direct study. For the ordinary scholar, or man of general culture, or for the young student who contemplates a minute survey of the field of German speculation, this is an invaluable help. It meets the needs of two classes admirably, viz., the versatile *littérateur* and the inchoate scholar who is looking for a guide. We can commend it to such, and to all who are interested in the *thinking* of that philosopher who, perhaps more than any other writer, has neutralized the harmful labor and audacious designs of Hume. We shall anticipate with pleasure and the expectation of profit the successive issues of the series.

*The Land of Gilead*; with Excursions in the Lebanon. Illustrated with a map of Palestine, and a map of proposed railways into the proposed colony, and other illustrations. By Laurence Oliphant. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The political aspect of this book shows that the Treaty of Berlin could only open the way for needed reforms in what remains of the Turkish Empire; and that these needed reforms must depend largely upon the growth of those humane principles which shall consent to more liberal internal administrations than heretofore.

That jealousy of Russian influence and Russian aggression which

pervaded European countries generally is most potent in the English breast. And the English people are largely disposed to secure the great political advantages which must result from setting on foot a more liberal policy of internal improvement. The rest of the world, as well as the English people, know that the central government of Turkey needs purification. But it was not until the Russian Government justly undertook, and carried on to its consummation, successful war against Turkey that this interest of the English people was called out, and since that war has been efficiently directed to the improvement of the Christian and Jewish populations of the Turkish Empire.

The author of this book, Mr. Laurence Oliphant, is an Englishman, of large experience and close observation of the affairs of the Turkish Empire, as well as of Russian encroachments and of English ambition. Previous to the occasion on which this book was written he had three times visited Turkey—in 1855, 1860 and 1862—and had traveled extensively in the empire, and had come to the conclusion that, if the Turkish Government could not be prevailed upon to reform the official system at Constantinople, an experiment might be attempted on a small scale, by which a colony might be planted in a single province, which should not infringe on the rights of the Sultan, and at the same time would enlist the sympathy of Europe.

The location of this proposed colony includes that portion of Gilead extending from the river Arnon, which empties into the Dead Sea, north along the eastern shore of the Dead Sea and of the river Jordan, as far as the river Jabbok, and extending East twenty-five or thirty miles. This is an area about equal to that of the State of Rhode Island. It includes the forest-clad mountains of the land of Moab, where Moses was permitted only to look into the Promised Land, and where he was buried; and the rich pasture lands and the luxuriant arable plains of Moab, and the semi-tropical valley on the eastern shore of the Jordan. Of all the wild lands of Asiatic Turkey this region is perhaps unrivaled in its natural resources, and in the elements which may promote the prosperity of the colony. The colonists of the land are to be Jews from Asiatic Turkey, as far as practicable. And there seems a peculiar propriety and significance in restoring these scattered people to the land which they entered three thousand years ago, and in thus affording this opportunity by a species of internal management which shall depend upon themselves and at the same time not dissolve their due allegiance to the empire of the Sultan.

In view of this plan, Mr. Oliphant sets out to develop the social, the commercial and the archæological aspects of this region for the pro-

posed colony. In company with Captain Owen Phibbs, who is an experienced traveler in the Orient, and who has a love of Oriental research, and has a knowledge of the languages required to facilitate, or to make less difficult, their movements, Mr. Oliphant set out from Beyrout, and crossed the sources of the Jordan, and traversed the whole region formerly occupied by the half-tribe of Manasseh, the tribes of Gad and of Reuben, into the proposed colony; whence the party crossed the Jordan to Jerusalem, and returned North through Western Palestine. They then extended their journey North-east to Damascus, making excursions still further North and East, and North to Baalbeck and other portions, and so on back to Beyrout. Mr. Oliphant and his little company traveled in a humble, unostentatious manner, and in this way were enabled to become better acquainted with the social and political condition of the tribes among which they moved, and in their own way to discover the resources of the country, and to ascertain what might be developed by extensive archæological researches; and so, on his return, Mr. Oliphant might make good use of his materials to rouse up a general interest in his proposed colony.

In the *Jewish Chronicle* of 9th Jan., 1880, the editor says: "Mr. Oliphant is a free-thinker, and has no religious motives; and Christianity is to him of as little consequence as Judaism." The perusal of this book gives the impression that he is almost antagonistic to Christianity. He seems to exaggerate the failures of Christians, and to make a sweeping application of these failures in reproach of Christianity itself. But he has, in a vivacious, and spirited, and interesting, and instructive manner, given us the results of his travels and experience in this volume—"The Land of Gilead, with Incursions into the Lebanon."

If this Jewish colony should become located in the land of Gilead, we may look for its success; and we may look upon its success as an important step in a gradual restoration of the Israelites to Palestine, and, under the influence and patronage of the English, to the certain improvement of the whole land.

*A Hand-Book of Charity Organization.* By the Rev. S. Humphreys Gurteen. Buffalo: Published by the Author.

This is a more important book than it at first seems to be. Mr. Gurteen originated in this country and at Buffalo the movement commonly known as "charity organization," and applied it in that city with great success to the problems of pauperism and poverty. The book has grown out of his work there, and has been written to meet the wide-spread interest which this new application of Christianity to social life has aroused in every section of the country. It

is precisely the book that is needed, and covers all the points on which people desire information. It opens with an historical retrospect in which Mr. Gurteen deals with the growth of this movement in Continental Europe and in England. Then follow chapters on phases of charity, provident schemes, charity organization and the Buffalo plan, the council and the district committee, the district agent, the central and the district offices and their mutual relations, the volunteer visitor, the nature of true charity, and the scientific basis of charity organization. In the Appendix is a large amount of practical information which makes the book practically valuable to every one who labors to make the poor self-helpful. The best thing to be said about the work is that it brings together the information now required to reach the undertow of society effectively and thoroughly. Mr. Gurteen is a clergyman of the American Church who has given himself wholly to the work of charity organization, and whose wonderful ability in dealing with the problem of pauperism in our large cities has placed him in the very front of our social reformers. The work is readably and compactly written, and is practical and full where the information is most useful.

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## II. BIBLICAL AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

*Westminster Sermons.* Sermons on Special Occasions, preached in Westminster Abbey, by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., late Dean of Westminster. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Dean Stanley was certainly, during many of the later years of his life, one of the most prominent personages in the English Church—much more so, in the eye of the public, than many of the Bishops themselves. Many things combined to produce this result. In the first place, his connection with the famous Dr. Arnold of Rugby, where he was fitted for the University, gave him a good send-off as a favorite representative of a certain "school," whose members formed a first-rate mutual admiration society. His University career added to this, and his position as being connected by marriage with the aristocracy, and linked by more than one tie to the Court of Queen Victoria (his wife had been one of the Queen's Maids of Honor, and he himself had been traveling Chaplain with the Prince of Wales in the East)—all these things, and others like them, gave him a social *prestige*, the immense strength of which can hardly be appreciated by the ordinary American. He was in full sympathy with

the cultivated and polished Germanism in theology, which, through the influence of Prince Albert, has for many years been dominant in the Royal Circle. He was thus sure of Court favor in becoming an outspoken apostle of Broad-Churchism in England. It is currently believed that on more than one occasion the personal importunity of the Queen bore hard upon the Minister of the day to secure his nomination as a Bishop; but no Minister of the Crown, of either party, was bold enough to try it. The highest post in which he was entrenched, in the Church, was the Deanship of Westminster Abbey. This is what is called a Royal Peculiar: that is to say, the Dean of Westminster is not under the jurisdiction of any Archbishop or Bishop, but is responsible to the Crown alone—one of those indefensible anomalies which still exist here and there in the English Church. Knowing that no legal process could touch him in the way of ecclesiastical discipline so long as the Queen was his friend, Dean Stanley became as brave in defying and outraging the feelings of Churchmen, as the kid in the fable when on the roof of a house was brave in mocking the wolf who was on the ground. Every man accused of denying any part of the Christian faith had the Dean's sympathy, and he was ready to do battle for him in the most chivalrous manner. The brilliant, plucky, and sometimes insolent vehemence with which he defended Colenso in the Convocation of Canterbury, when almost in a minority of *one*, will not easily be forgotten. He was a champion of the "Essays and Reviews," and even helped to pay Voysey's legal expenses. But when Ritualists were persecuted he had nothing to say against it, nor any help to offer. He gloried in being an Englishman first and a Christian next—his Churchmanship coming last and least. His Erastian theory led him to look upon all Englishmen as members of the English Church, and he was specially anxious to cater for popularity among those who were visibly outside of it, knowing that he had hopelessly lost the confidence of the great body of those who were inside. He was no theologian, and every attempt made by him to handle any of the doctrines of the Church was a ludicrous exhibition of his inability even to state dogmatic truth correctly; and his travesty of theology was always backed up by a show of historical support equally fallacious. His mind was essentially shallow. But he had the gift of a lively imagination, a facile pen, a poetic fancy, and a style of remarkable elegance, clearness, and point. Sympathetic sensibility was also shown at times, and in quite a variety of different directions. Whatever he wrote was easy and pleasant reading—except where it shocked the feelings of Churchmen. His historical writings are all highly colored. His lectures on the History of Israel are dilutions from German scholars, with the unsoundness mostly

kept in, and with the flavor of his poetic style thrown over it all, to give it an easy charm for the average reader, which the German original never had. His sketches of English history—as in his *Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey*—are perhaps as reliable as anything that ever fell from his pen. Personally, there was a very great charm about the Dean. His abounding hospitality, his courtesy and brilliance in conversation, his readiness to serve others, his unflinching efforts to enhance every national attraction connected with the Abbey, his success in securing the restoration of the beautiful Chapter-house, and his persevering cultivation of Americans, as one branch of his systematic liberalism—all these added fresh and peculiar elements to his popularity: and those who knew him best spoke of a tenderness and deep affectionateness of heart of which the outside public had no suspicion. The volume of "*Westminster Sermons*" before us contains a great variety of subjects, but the larger part of the discourses turn upon events which are not commonly regarded as "preaching the Gospel." For instance, one sermon is on "The Coronation of William the Conqueror, and its Consequences;" another is on "The Religious Aspect of Sculpture." The "Threefold Call" embraces in one sermon "the Anniversary of the Queen's Coronation," the "public thanksgiving for the escape of H. R. H., the Duke of Edinburgh," and "the success of the Abyssinian War." Another triad gives us, 1st, "The Illness of the Prince of Wales;" 2d, under the title of "The Trumpet of Patmos," we have the Prince of Wales getting better; 3d, "The Day of Thanksgiving for the entire Recovery of the Prince of Wales." Then follows another, "England and India," when the Prince of Wales was going to visit India; and this is followed by "The Return of the Traveler," which means that the Prince of Wales returned safe to England again. Then we have funeral sermons on Lord Palmerston, Charles Dickens, Sir John Herschell, Mr. Grote (the historian of Greece), Dr. Livingstone the African traveler, Sir Charles Lyell the geologist, Sir Gilbert Scott the architect, the late Princess Alice, Lord Lawrence, Thomas Carlyle, and the Earl of Beaconsfield; and other discourses on the "Distress of Paris," on "American Independence," and on the "Greek Massacre." This is certainly a very promiscuous, mundane, artistic, and secular sort of a Gospel. Perhaps the concentration of it all may be found in the sermon entitled "The Trumpet of Patmos." We thought we should surely find, under such a heading, some of the things more deeply concerning the tremendous mysteries of the Apocalypse. But the Trumpet of Patmos only means the sickness of the Prince of Wales; and one of the great things taught thereby is thus expressed: "It has brought

before us how, amidst all our dissensions and party strifes, we are still Englishmen—Englishmen first and foremost, whatever we may be besides." The idea of the Voice as of a Trumpet uttering such a sentiment to S. John in Patmos! The Dean might as well have tried to persuade us that the famous "Pinafore" song,

"He is an Englishman,  
For he himself hath said it,  
And it's greatly to his credit,"

was really one of the Psalms of David! It is a striking proof of the degree to which his nationalism had run away with his Christianity; and he seems serenely to take it for granted that this new Gospel of his is incomparably superior to the old one!

*Natural Religion.* By the author of "Ecce Homo." Boston: Roberts Brothers.

The book that follows as the sequel to "Ecce Homo" cannot fail to attract attention or provoke discussion. Prof. Seeley has taken an unusually wide survey of religion and politics in his studies of the progress of civilization, and almost no professor of modern history has entered into the ethical questions now raised by the wider grasp of related thought with the same enthusiasm or with a warmer feeling of what the wider perceptions of truth have to do with a progressive Christianity. He believes that the slow accretions of truth in modern civilization are the present revelation of God to the world, and that this kind of growth needs to be taken account of by the Christian Church. This is the upshot of his "Natural Religion." He looks at the whole Christian movement from the modern point of view, and chiefly on the side of the forces and directions which religion has always taken in the minds of men, not alone in its organization under the forms of Christian thought. Thus his very suggestive work takes the character of a criticism of Christianity; it is really a statement of the revisions which he thinks it must undergo if it is still to be the vital religion of the world. His position is not unlike that of Wordsworth and Goethe and Matthew Arnold and Herbert Spencer. He aims to bring religious truth out of the supernatural, and place it within the domain of the natural, sphere. His point is to state what art and science have done to change our conception of the first principle of things. He shows that art has always had a religious intent, and that science, even in its widest excursions, always seeks to simplify the theory of the origin and processes of the universe. He feels that modern life is immensely larger than the Christian Church, and would have religion, in its contact, rather the expression of the universal forces of being than the truth crys-



tallized into dogma. That large part of religion which has always passed current is what he is constantly striving to gather to a focus. This makes his criticisms suggestive and effective. Perhaps no book has been written in recent days which will better bear careful and thorough study; but, while it is strong in its critical purpose, and bears the marks of a wide knowledge of the present relations of religion to society, it is open to serious objections from the Church point of view. Prof. Seeley, on the whole, takes a hopeful view of things; but he makes religion almost identical with civilization, and quite fails altogether to recognize what part the Christian Church has to do with the advance of humanity. He is not fair to the existing Church. His suggestions are not entirely speculative, but they are far away from what is either practicable or possible. The Church is better than he allows it to be. The book is the record of what a widely read and thoroughly cultivated mind, familiar with the course of thought in the world, sees and feels; but there is a touch of pessimism in the views of Christianity, and there is an attempt to broaden out religious truth until it fades away into the lines of secular life. Prof. Seeley feels more than most men the necessity that Christianity shall be identical with present experience, and, on the secular side, his suggestions are rich and strong; but he ignores, like the school to which he belongs, that part of Christianity which has been commonly called the supernatural element, or else refines it away until there is nothing left. Here is the weakness of the book, and it must be admitted to be a fatal weakness. He would strip away the supernatural, like his fellow-author, Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, whose "Through Nature to Christ" this book on "Natural Religion" closely resembles, and regard Christianity as a great practical working religion in the world, to be judged and accepted on its lower merits as the regulator of the conduct of life; but in bringing it down to this level he makes it merely a scheme of morality, and removes the Divine sanctions which have always been considered as its special claim to acceptance. However, it is impossible in this short notice to do even bare justice to this very remarkable book. On the whole, its trend is good, but it is open to very severe criticism, and will be certain to receive it in abundance.

*The Treasury of David*: Containing an Original Exposition of the Book of Psalms, a Collection of Illustrative Extracts from the whole range of Literature, a series of Homiletical Hints upon almost every Verse, and a List of Writers upon each Psalm. By C. H. Spurgeon. Vol. I., Psalm I.-XXI.; Vol. II., Psalm XXII.-LII.; Vol. III., Psalm LIII.-LXXVIII. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Mr. Spurgeon is a well-known Baptist minister, distinguished in

his denomination for possessing the power of reaching and influencing large congregations. As a preacher he stands in the front rank of Dissenters in England, and his "tabernacle" in London is regularly filled with crowds of attentive hearers. Of late, Mr. Spurgeon has been rather ambitious to extend his influence by means of the press; and so he undertook, a dozen or more years ago, to try his hand at theological authorship. He selected the Psalms of David, and resolved to prepare a work which should prove to be, if he succeeded in his plan, a complete *thesaurus* for those Divine songs of Zion's king. As stated on the title-page, he gives first "an original exposition" of the entire Book of Psalms; then a collection of illustrative extracts drawn from the whole range of literature, ancient and modern; these are followed by a series of homiletical hints upon almost every verse, and a list of writers upon each Psalm.

Mr. Spurgeon's exposition is sensible and judicious in the main, coming from one whose theological acquisitions are of the Calvinistic sort. They are not marked by any special acuteness or learning, but they evidence study and care. Critical discussions, and especially modern rationalistic "destructive" criticism, he virtually ignores and treats with contempt. Topics which agitate so many in the religious world at this time do not at all, apparently, disturb Mr. Spurgeon's serenity; and hence all hard questions as to the original text, the authorship and date of the Psalms, how many or how few were written by David, and such like, are quietly put aside as of no real value to his readers and requiring no formal notice at his hands. He devotes all his energies to the practical exposition of the Psalms as they are, and wastes neither time nor patience upon antagonists of the semi-infidel kind in these days. In regard to the copious extracts from authors, Mr. Spurgeon distinctly warns the reader that he does not endorse all that he quotes, and does not hold himself responsible for the scholarship or orthodoxy of the writers. He quotes from several hundred authors, the larger part being naturally of the Puritan style, and furnishing choice hortatory passages adapted to the purpose which he has in view. "Hints to the Village Preacher" are intended for the benefit of those who need such help and can be profited thereby. Some of them are pointed and forcible, though in general they seem to be obvious enough. As Mr. Spurgeon has already filled three good-sized octavo volumes, and got only to the end of the seventy-eighth Psalm, it seems probable that he will make six or eight volumes in all by the time he reaches the end. If the patience of the reader holds out to that extent, it will be a pretty strong evidence of the merit of the author's worth as a whole.

The publishers have executed their part of the work with very

commendable zeal and much excellence. The volumes are well printed, on good paper, large type, and clear, open page. Mr. Spurgeon has given his "authorization" to the present edition, and hopes that it will be respected by all concerned.

*The International Revised Commentary on the New Testament. Based upon the Revised Version of 1881. Edited by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. The Gospel according to Matthew Explained by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.*

This book in its general features, viz., form, binding and arrangement, is like its predecessor on S. Mark, noticed in January. The introduction gives in a succinct and plain style all the preparatory knowledge for the study of the contents of the Gospel. The "readings and renderings of the American Committee" are placed in footnotes to the text, and the comments on the text are brief, suggestive and practical. Drs. Schaff and Riddle, while scholarly and conscientious exegetes, have shown, in these respective commentaries, a clear and commendable sense of what ordinary Bible students need as a help. They give the results of patient and critical investigation in the most practical and available forms.

We welcome all such books as valuable additions to the religious factors of the age, confident that Sunday-school teachers and heads of families will eagerly employ them as efficient aids in their work of instruction.

*Robertson's Eight Living Thoughts. A Thesaurus. By Kerr Boyce Tupper. With an Introduction by Prof. William C. Richards, Ph.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.*

The name and genius of Frederick W. Robertson are embalmed. Neither the rush nor triviality of the successive ages can stifle, for any long time, the interest he wakened by his brilliant record in the few years of his ministerial life. His published Sermons have, perhaps, been more widely read, by the adherents of different creeds, than those of any preacher of the last century. The elements of his power were so diversified, both natural and acquired, and were so combined and employed by study and work, and were so fruitful of good to those for whom he spoke and wrote, that his unique history has been accepted as a perpetual legacy.

Mr. Tupper has shown his taste and skill as a gleaner. Perhaps in no speedier or more certain way can a man reveal his *own* idiosyncrasies than by setting forth the evidences of culture, talent or attainments in another. It has been said that we may judge the character of a man by knowing the style and breadth of his companionship with books. Robertson was so many-sided, had gathered such a fund of knowledge from all the domains of elegant and severe thought,

had such a wealth of inspiration and such a beauty and aptitude of illustration, that his literary remains open a field for the gratification of tastes the most diverse. Hence a man with the same appreciation and admiration of Robertson might follow Mr. T. in his work, and give a widely different selection of gems, and yet one of equal beauty and excellence. This fact only proves the richness of the field from which so many and variant things can be gathered by successive explorers. We are entirely sympathetic with Mr. Tupper's "labor of love," and commend it to all who know or who wish to know of Mr. Robertson's claims upon the gratitude of the world and the Church. "*Multum in parvo*" is eminently applicable to what is contained within the covers of this book.

*Religion and Philosophy in Germany: a Fragment.* By Heinrich Heine. Translated by John Snodgrass. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Whatever Heine wrote is fascinating from his manner of saying things, if not for the things in themselves. He writes with sweetness, brilliancy, and insight; and this slender volume in the "English and Foreign Philosophical Library" is a fair proof of it. Mr. Snodgrass has given an admirable translation, and the work, fragmentary though it is, is a fair sketch, not of religious and philosophical opinions, but of the ways in which the religion and philosophy of Germany, from Luther to Kant and from Kant to Hegel, affected the literary, social, and thoughtful life of the people. Heine saw sides of the subject which a less mercurial writer would have missed, and had no fears of saying exactly what he thought. The personal element enters largely into this delicious bit of writing, also the political element; and perhaps the chief reason why it has literary and philosophical value is that Heine wrote it. He represents phases of the religious and philosophical movement in Germany which have not been touched upon by other writers.

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### III. HISTORY.

*Eighteen Centuries of the Church in England.* By the Rev. A. H. Hore, M.A. London: Parker & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

The present era may perhaps be fairly described as the age of histories, and it is the fault of the student if he fails to find ample material for an insight into the leading events of every century and

country since chronicles began, all ready to his hand in the form of manuals. But (as Daniel Webster said of the legal profession) "there is always room in the upper story;" and the fact that others have gone over the same track does not destroy the interest which we feel in a new historian when he presents even well-known events to us in a new and interesting light. This difficult task Mr. Hore seems to have accomplished. The history of England and of the English Church has often been written, and yet, as the author well remarks, this "is the first attempt that has been made to give a continuous narrative from its commencement of the Church in England."

Mr. Hore divides his work into seven parts: The British Church, The Anglo-Saxon Church, The Anglo-Norman Church, The Anglo-Roman Church, The Church of the Reformation Era, The Church of the Protestant Era, and The Church of the Present Day. Like several of the more recent writers on British ecclesiastical history, he is inclined to adopt the ancient opinion that S. Paul preached the Gospel in Britain. So much stress has been laid by Roman Catholic authors on the mission of S. Augustine to the Saxons, that too many have been disposed to look upon the England of his era as a pagan land, first evangelized by his efforts. Nothing could be more unjust. Britain in those early centuries had been a centre of light and spiritual privileges. But the fierce and pagan warriors of Germany had come in like a flood and driven the inhabitants of the island into a corner. Christianity was not extinguished; but so bitter was the hate between Britain and Saxon, that the conquered Church had not done its duty in seeking the conversion of its conquerors. Great credit is indeed due to S. Gregory the Great for his missionary efforts, and Rome is welcome to all the honor which is justly due. But the fact still remains that Augustine the missionary was timid where he should have been brave, and arrogant and unconciliatory where he should have been courteous and kind. His work has been exceedingly overrated. He only *began* the conversion of the Saxons; the greater part of the work was accomplished after his decease by the British Church. They followed where they should have led, and gave the honor to Rome and its messengers which was the neglected birthright of the British Church.

Mr. Hore gives prominence to the life and character of the Greek Theodore of Tarsus, who, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury while at Rome, succeeded by his natural talent and faithful labors in fusing the British and Roman parties in England into one compact Anglo-Saxon Church. "His primacy marks one of the most important eras of our Church. Before then, says the Saxon *Chronicle*, 'the

bishops had been Romans, but from this time they were English.'” The author sketches with graphic pen the long conflict which raged in England between archbishops and fierce Norman kings with regard to the right of investiture, culminating in the tragic death of Thomas à Becket. The victory was won by the Church; henceforth the struggle was to be between the English Church, contending for its national rights, and a foreign prelate seeking to subdue all Christian nations to his usurped supremacy.

Mr. Hore devotes a very interesting chapter to “The Roman Church” and its relations to “Western Christendom,” in which he ably sketches the rise, progress, and final culmination of the papal power, a disease which by its very violence brought about its own cure, and which must have led in the fulness of time to some reformation, had Germany given birth to no Luther and England produced no Cranmer. The various steps of the English Reformation are well described, but this chapter of the Church’s history has been so often written that it lacks to some extent the element of novelty.

The desolation of England during the Hanoverian era is so well portrayed that we are tempted to quote a few lines as illustrative of the style of the author: “The churches stood beautiful in their original structure, such as no other country but England can boast, but rendered paragons of ugliness by modern barbarism, or, as it was considered, modern improvement; the high roof cut down; the windows robbed of their stained glass and even their tracery; or, if here and there some painted windows were to be found, Bible subjects were religiously excluded, and the arms of the corporation or some local magnate emblazoned in their stead; the pillars were cut away to make room for hideous monuments; fine frescoes were buried beneath a dozen coats of whitewash; the area of nave, aisles, and even choir was choked up with hideous high-backed pews, ‘lidless boxes,’ as they have been called, more resembling sheep-pens than anything else; there were the unsightly galleries; the tripartite erection, the ‘three-decker’ pulpit, overhanging and often hiding the altar; the meanly-dressed altar, the common receptacle of the hats and cloaks of the congregation; a basin, the not unusual substitute for, or more frequently an addition to, the font; the unused credence-table; and if here and there a new church was built, at a time when Gothic churches had fallen into disrepute, they were in imitation of large meeting-houses, and without the least pretence of architecture; whilst as to the preservation of the fabrics, it was thought sufficient to keep them as they were, with an occasional coat of whitewash, at the minimum expense to the present generation of taxpayers; but in a state gradually leading to decay,

as witness the churches of forty or fifty years ago, the uneven pavements, the windows broken and stopped up anyhow so as to exclude the wind and rain, whilst the walls and foundations were undermined with weeds and damp" (pp. 546-7).

If space would permit, we would say a word about Mr. Hore's analysis of the Wesleyan and Tractarian revivals, but it is better to refer the reader to the book itself than to attempt a very meagre sketch. The author's style is attractive and interesting; he is a sound but not extreme churchman, and it seems as though his work might prove (as he expresses the hope in his preface) "not only to be instructive to students and candidates for Holy Orders, but also not unattractive to general readers."

*A Church History.* By Charles Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. Vol. II. New York: James Pott.

The first volume of this history of the Church, by the distinguished author and Bishop of the Church of England, was noticed in the REVIEW of last July. And the high commendation it received might be repeated with greater emphasis in calling attention to this second volume.

The History will be completed in the next volume, and will extend from the Day of Pentecost to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. The first volume contains the period to the Council of Nicæa, 325; the present one to the council of Constantinople, 381. It therefore begins with the transition period, when the Church was assailed by the world from within instead of from without, as it had been up to this time. As it is our intention to make the work when complete the subject of an extended notice, we now only desire to call attention to the publication of the second volume.

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#### IV. BIOGRAPHY.

*Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement.* By the Rev. T. Mozley, M.A. In two volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

These volumes from the pen of one of the veteran survivors of the Oxford Movement are more personal in their character and comprehensive in their scope than anything that has yet been written on the subject. Cardinal Newman's "Apologia" and Dean Hook's "Life and Letters" have heretofore been the chief Anglican accounts, though Palmer's "Narrative of Events," published in 1843, is au-



thoritative as far as it goes. Mr. Mozley takes a different course. Himself a Tractarian, the brother-in-law of Newman, the editor of the *British Critic* at the crisis of the Movement, and something more than a theologian, he introduces Oriel College as the original hotbed of the Tractarians, and explains, in his sketches of the old Oriel school, the basis on which Newman, Froude, Keble, Rose, Williams, Mozley, Sewell, and others builded after a plan, whose scope was wider than they themselves thought it could possibly be. It was the noetic school of thought that was behind the Movement as its propelling force; and Bishop Lloyd, Archbishop Whately, Blanco White, Thomas Arnold, and Bishop Hampden were the source and germ of the bold endeavor to bring about the restoration of the Church of England to its Catholic position as represented in the first prayer-book of Edward VI. This does not mean that they ever distinctly contemplated such a movement themselves; but as "talkers, preachers, and writers they seemed to be always undermining, if not actually demolishing, received traditions and institutions," and, so far, they prepared the way for that questioning of the Hanoverian conventionalism of the Church of England which arose in Newman's eager and restless mind, and would not rest until it had made possible the intellectual and spiritual revolution of English society. Yet Newman's plan did not, in the first instance, go beyond the reclamation of Oriel College to its original position as an institution where theology should be studied as a sacred science. This he in part accomplished, and then the horizon widened and he rose up, not as the first Luther to take the Church out of the hands of the Pope, but as a second Laud to restore the English Church to its original charter of Catholic movement and authority. It is the scope of this movement, not by theological measurement, but as it was developed and carried on by the men who cast their intellectual fortunes into its proceedings in and through each man's personality, that constitutes the interest of Mr. Mozley's "Reminiscences." He does not paint portraits nor tell stories, but photographs the state of each man's mind, measures him for what he did and what he was, makes you feel his essence, and opens the daylight upon his soul. In a very remarkable way he does this for Newman. Nothing has yet been written about the Cardinal which conveys so vivid a presentation of the man as the pages in which Mr. Mozley describes him in his thoughts and walks and haunts while the Oxford Movement was in progress. Newman's influence is felt in almost every page, and there is such a vivid sense of his personality that you feel as if you were writing the Tracts, and dealing with a thousand minds, and reforming the Church of England, and acting up to the light of the inner con-

science all at once—just as Newman did day after day while he occupied an undergraduate's rooms at Oriel, preaching his parochial sermons on Sundays and writing tracts and essays during the week that moved the round world. Still there is more than Newman in these pages. Richard Hurrell Froude, John Keble, Dr. Pusey, William Sewell, Isaac Williams, Hugh James Rose, Bishop Copleston, Edward Churton, Charles Marriot, the Wilberforces,—Samuel, Henry, and Robert Isaac,—James Anthony Froude, President Routh of Magdalene, William Palmer of Worcester, Mr. Gladstone, Dean Church, Dean Hook—all these sit here for their outline portraits and have their place in the several stages of the Movement. Thus the "Reminiscences" have an unusual scope. It is not common to put so many rough portraits and etchings within the covers of a single book every day. Against Mr. Mozley's method much may be said. It is desultory, gossipy, loose; things are put in here and there as busy men pigeon-hole important papers; and Mr. Mozley seems to be as loose in his religious opinions as in his sense of method and order. He seems never to have studied down to the roots of things, and almost tumbled headlong into the Church of Rome, even two years before Newman made the change which is best expressed by the word *absorption* into the Roman Communion. But, with all their drawbacks, these "Reminiscences" are wonderfully rich in information hitherto inaccessible to most Churchmen about a Movement which has had more to do with the present condition of the English and American Church than most men are willing to acknowledge.

*Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of Common Life.* By the Rev. Samuel Kettlewill. Two volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Mr. Kettlewill has greatly distinguished himself by his studies concerning the "Authorship of the *De Imitatione Christi*," and by his subsequent researches for biographical materials with which to show what part Thomas à Kempis played in his time. His earlier work, published in 1877, showed conclusively that the authorship of this celebrated devotional book had been rightly ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, and its sequel, in two ample volumes, gives all that can now be told about the famous sub-prior of Mount S. Agnes, and presents him in such relation to his times that the man and the book stand forth in their proper position at the darkest period of the Middle Age. The life of Thomas à Kempis extends through a good part of the fifteenth century, and from the year 1406 to 1471, the year of his death, his influence seems to have been marked upon the Brothers of Common Life. The work of this brotherhood was chiefly educational. They taught schools and transcribed books, but when print-

ing was invented and teaching passed into secular hands their occupation was gone, and not choosing to cast in their lot with the early German reformers, they were soon crushed out of existence. Thomas à Kempis was not the originator of the brotherhood; that was the work of Gerard Groote; but after his brother John had entered their form of monastic life he was induced to follow his example, and was received into the monastery in 1406. Henceforth he gave himself unreservedly to the transcribing of books and to the exercises of devotion. Mr. Kettlewill has described his labors at great length, and the sketches have considerable interest. He was the historian of the brethren. He experimented upon the religious life, and put down his conclusions. He preached sermons. He fulfilled all the duties by which their common life was regulated. But his chief labor went to the composition of the "*De Imitatione Christi*," and he spared no pains to make it as nearly perfect as his ideas of excellence in the religious life allowed. It is a curious revelation which Mr. Kettlewill has been able to disclose of the way in which the monastic life was carried on in the early days of the fifteenth century, and although the narrative is more spun out than is necessary, a picture can be gathered from these pages which can only be framed when the information is thrown about with a lavish hand. Though but one of Thomas à Kempis's treatises is famous, his historian has unearthed enough to make this Middle Age saint quite a voluminous author. In fact, nothing that pertains to à Kempis, to his brotherhood, or to the circumstances of the period in which he lived is omitted, and Mr. Kettlewill deserves great praise for doing in English what others have done in German and Dutch for the monk who has shed great light upon the least fruitful period of the dynasty of the schoolmen by his devotional genius. Several illustrations are given, including a portrait of the pietist in his cell, and a view of the monastery of S. Agnes, where he spent the greater part of his life; and a very thorough index makes the vast amount of information concerning the religious life in the monastic houses on the Continent just before the Reformation accessible for easy reference.

*Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.* A Biographical sketch by Francis H. Underwood. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

The preface to this book defines its object and character. With the family of the deceased poet remains the grateful task of supplying a full biography; nevertheless this well-executed and appreciative outline of his life and work will be well received by the reading public, and will occupy its place in the literature of the country. It is by no means an extemporized performance, following closely upon the death of the subject as a bid in the book market. The writer

had entered upon his "labor of love" more than a year ago, and "while Mr. Longfellow was in his usual health." Mr. Underwood had requested Mr. Longfellow to examine his sketch of James Russell Lowell, and after the friendly service had been rendered, the poet, with simple frankness, "intimated that he would be pleased to have one written of himself in a similar spirit." The writer has chosen *sketch* as the proper designation of his work, and while we do not dispute its appropriateness, we will say that it is so eminently satisfactory that a full portrait from his hand would have been acceptable.

His friendly acquaintance with Mr. Longfellow, and his familiarity with his poetry, together with his personal admiration and his literary sympathy, gave him special qualifications for his task. The structure of the book bears the impress of being executed by one who was *en rapport* with the mental and moral life of the subject. Hence the analysis of character, the record of life-events, the short, judicious, and pertinent notices of his poems, and the estimate of his rank among poets, all give proof of ripe qualifications for the skill and judgment demanded for such labor.

The author has not entered largely or critically upon the qualities or methods of Mr. Longfellow as a poet, but has contented himself with giving a composite texture, showing his keen sense and admiration of the exalted dignity and worth of his subject in every character and relation. In this respect the book is noteworthy, because of its avoidance of fulsome panegyric while it is replete with all the charms of a hearty appreciation of the excellence of the man and the glory of the poet.

*American Men of Letters: Henry D. Thoreau.* By F. B. Sanborn. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

So much has been written about Thoreau, and his writings have so largely been given to the world, that it might seem as if another biography were superfluous, and yet there was one person who knew Thoreau next best to Emerson and Alcott, and who also had skill as a writer, from whom the public had not heard; and this person, Mr. F. B. Sanborn, better qualified than perhaps any one else to give Thoreau his rightful place in a great religious and literary movement, has furnished the biography of the Concord naturalist which is not only to supersede all others, but puts this singularly eccentric and brilliant personage properly before the world. The book tells all that was to be known about Thoreau; it gives us fresh and honest glimpses of Concord and its famous people; it gives Emerson and Thoreau their respective places in the Transcendental Movement; it tells the story of the Walden hermitage; it shows the natu-

ralist in wood and field; it sets forth his first essays in authorship; his personal traits and slight attempts at social life are fully described; and his claims as poet, moralist, and philosopher are candidly examined. The book is thoroughly American and truly fascinating. Its literary skill is exceptionally good, and there is a racy flavor in its pages and an amount of exact knowledge of interesting people that one seldom meets with in current literature. Mr. Sanborn has done Thoreau's genius an imperishable service and himself great credit in this little volume. And yet Thoreau was such an exceptional being, his tastes and opinions were so entirely out of accord with the practical majority, that it is quite possible to dismiss it with a sneer and say that it is "much ado about nothing."

*American Statesmen: Alexander Hamilton.* By Henry Cabot Lodge.  
*John C. Calhoun.* By Dr. H. Von Holst. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

These two volumes cover the political history of the country for upwards of three quarters of a century, and are as faithful an exhibit of the questions uppermost in the days of Hamilton and Calhoun as is possible within the limits of each statesman's personality. The aim of these biographies is to restate the issues which have now passed into history, and show how they gathered strength from the exertions of individual leaders. They aim at no completeness as personal sketches, but, as political monographs, are as valuable and as fully worked out as they could be within the limits of a series. Their value depends upon the way in which they set forth to the present generation the doings of their political fathers, upon their exactness, their impartiality, their comprehensiveness of view, and, judged by this standard, these two volumes meet the purpose for which they were intended. There has been no good short life of Hamilton, no book which set forth the negative as well as the positive side of the man. Mr. Lodge examines him from both points of view, and has written the book that was needed. The closing chapter, in which he sums up the whole story, is ably and impartially written, and the studies of the political issues of the country just after the Revolutionary period are admirably handled. At times Mr. Lodge forgets to write good English, and in this respect might have greatly improved his work; but as a study of the great questions of that day, and of Hamilton's share in shaping and controlling them, the book is strongly to be commended.

Dr. Von Holst brings to the study of Calhoun's career an immense knowledge of the period in which the Southern statesman was the leader of a solid South, and has been faithful in showing what part he had in organizing the spirit which culminated in the Civil War,

but his book is as dry as a chip in point of actual interest. This, however, is not the author's fault, but the fault of his subject. Calhoun stood by sectionalism as opposed to nationalism, and when the objects for which he lived and labored failed to be engrafted into the life of the nation, their chief promoter must share the obscurity which has attended them. The book is a faithful exhibition of Calhoun's work; but the work itself is now without interest apart from its illustration of the way in which an unyielding will and great logical power may carry certain principles to results which defeat the very ends of good government. And yet, as an exhibition of Calhoun, this volume is a faithful portrait, and contains all of Calhoun that most persons care anything about. He is the hero of a dead cause, and only lives in the reflected light of the men who opposed him in the national legislature.

*Thaddeus Stevens, Commoner.* By E. B. Callender. Boston: A. Williams.

This monograph (for it is nothing more) rescues from oblivion the memory of one who has been called "our first Stalwart," and is a vigorous statement of what Thaddeus Stevens did as a public servant before and during and after the great civil war. He was always a party man, and probably did more than any other man of his day to organize the party now dominant in the politics of the country. This little book briefly recounts these public services, but gives almost nothing of that personal life which supplied strength to the bold, courageous, and loyal servant of the people in his place in Congress. Mr. Callender draws his picture in swift, vigorous, emphatic outlines, and has intended it chiefly as a record that may "lead others to a greater appreciation of the Pennsylvania statesman's services, and of the grand work accomplished by a direct, manly, and stalwart policy in national affairs." The sketch is political, not personal; but the author has thrown into it his own vivid conception of what Thaddeus Stevens did, and has made a thrilling and impassioned book.

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#### V. FINE ARTS.

*Carols, Hymns, and Songs.* By John Henry Hopkins. Third edition, further enlarged. New York: E. and J. B. Young & Co.

The singing of carols on the great festivals of the Church is one of those ancient usages which the American mind has been quick to

recognize and adopt as a fitting and graceful outlet to the enthusiastic faith of Christ's young soldiers and servants. The custom seems originally to have formed a prominent part of the festivities of Christmas-tide, when, by day and in the early hours of each night, groups of merry children were accustomed to go about the streets and among the dwellings of their friends and neighbors, singing in quaint and artless verses the story of the Babe of Bethlehem. One of the most popular of these ancient carols commenced thus:

"Christ was born on Christmas Day;  
Wreathe the holly, twine the bay;  
*Christus natus hodie,*  
The Babe, the Son, the Holy One of Mary,  
He is born to set us free,  
He is born our Lord to be,  
*Ecce Maria Virgine.*"

The carol, in our less demonstrative age, is no longer an outdoor exercise, associated with bonfires, rustic sports, and a general ringing of church-bells, but has retreated within the church and the Sunday-school room, and has also imparted to Easter and Whitsuntide a large share of the joy which once clustered pre-eminently about the Christmas season.

Dr. Hopkins has brought together, in the handsomely bound volume before us, the words and music of nineteen carols, sixty-four hymns, and thirteen songs, of great diversity of structure, style, and coloring. The carols are, of course, of a festal character throughout, the claims of Palm Sunday being duly represented. The hymns follow the order of the Christian year, with special regard to the chief festivals and the somber season of Lent. Other hymns are also provided, covering the details of the inner life and the outward enterprises of the Church; the series ending with two stirring and resolute outbursts of song in behalf of the "Reunion of Christendom."

Twenty-five of the hymns are taken from the Church Hymnal; but for all the carols except one, and a considerable number of the hymns, with sundry translations from the German, we are indebted to the poetical and musical ability of Dr. Hopkins himself. Several of the carols here reprinted are already widely known, and have done good service in elevating the general tone of devotion in youthful minds by presenting in a somewhat dramatic form, with picturesque and vivid imagery and terseness of language, many of the scenes recorded in the Gospels, and illustrated by the after-history of the Church. In this connection the "Cornish Christmas Carol"—apparently a relic of mediæval piety—is very noticeable, as furnishing a fine example of one of the modes in which the rude but vigorous faith of a by-gone age sought expression in its own childlike simplicity and earnestness.



The Church would be a gainer if some of the translated hymns in the Hymnal were exchanged for the far more spirited and rhythmical versions of Dr. Hopkins—" *Ein feste Burg*," for instance. Poets are not often endowed with musical sensibility, as every church choir can testify. And for this reason, the limping lines, uncertain rhythm, and variable accent of the unlyrical poet often come in collision with the fixed and stately order of the musician's work. Regularity on the one side can no more coincide with irregularity on the other than an ordinary glove can fit a hand with six fingers or a dislocated thumb. Dr. Hopkins, in his Preface, makes some pertinent remarks on this matter of rhythm and accent; and it is safe to say that he has taken care to exclude from his work every poetical license or irregularity which might lead to a dangerous conflict with the music.

The Preface also advocates, with some acumen, a reasonable liberty of using in the Church other hymns, or versions of hymns, than those which are specially "allowed to be sung." The argument is, that the Church has not, in the form of *law*, actually *prohibited* all other hymns—such prohibition having been knowingly withheld; and that such usage would not, therefore, be "a canonical offense." Moreover, that "if Church hymnody is to grow and improve, this door, small as it is, *must be left open*." It would not be easy to find a flaw in the reasoning of Dr. Hopkins on this point; but we are quite sure that he would not object to the proposal that over every such "open door" there should be a portecullis, in good working order, to prevent the intrusion of the irreverent and heterodox effusions of a sensational school of poets, whose Gospel abjures a creed, and whose faith ripens no fruit.

A large part of the music of the book is from the facile pen of Dr. Hopkins, or from German sources, and is uniformly marked by a dignified ecclesiastical style, a freedom from the affectations of unfledged science, and a correspondence with the sentiment of the accompanying words. Several of the hymns are set to melodies founded on the ancient scales or modes; and it is refreshing to find that their harmonies are far more orderly and agreeable than the crude and rugged progressions which were in fashion some years ago among enthusiastic Gregorianists.

The songs at the close of the book are evidently intended for recreation in the home circle and in social gatherings of the young. They are, for the most part, easy, graceful, elevating, and genial in sentiment, and are likely to become permanent favorites in households where pastime and purity are blended together.

The book also deserves commendation for the clearness of its

print, the judicious arrangement of its matter, and the simple elegance of the binding.

*The Psalter or Psalms of David, together with the Canticles, Selections, and Proper Psalms, pointed and set to appropriate Chants.* By Walter B. Gilbert, Mus. B., Oxon., Organist of Trinity Chapel, Trinity Parish, New York. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

There are three different principles that may be followed in pointing the Psalms and Canticles for chanting. One is the *syllabic*—when, as nearly as possible, one syllable is given to each note. The Gregorian system was formed on this idea, and always preferred setting two or three notes to one syllable, rather than two or three syllables to one note; and the *final* note should never have more than one syllable. The opposite plan is, to carry the idea of rapid though distinct reading all through the *cadence* of the chant, as well as the recitative part; and this very commonly gives two or three syllables to one note, and as many syllables to the *final* note as may be convenient, according to English accent. The third mode is a sort of half-way between the other two extremes, leaning to the former on the whole, but employing the latter very nearly half the time.

Mr. Gilbert's Psalter has been very carefully prepared—more nearly on the lines of the *second* of these three modes, than the third. To illustrate: By the *first* mode, the latter part of the second verse of the 37th Psalm would be pointed thus:

and be withered even | as the | green = | herb.

By the *second* of the three modes it would be:

and be withered | ev-en | as the green | herb.

By the *third* of the three modes Mr. Gilbert points it:

and be | withered even | as the green | herb.

So also he points verse 7:

Hold thee still in the Lord, and abide | patiently up- | on him: etc.

And so also in innumerable cases *three* syllables are accumulated on a single note. Mr. Gilbert's system of pointing, therefore, is rather than which is furthest remote from the dignity of the Gregorian.

Two other peculiarities are worthy of note. Many of our Pointed Psalters mark, in the close of the recitative, a syllable which is to be dwelt on as the gathering point for the voices, before breaking into the mediation or the cadence. This often leads to a very unnatural stress or prolongation upon a syllable which otherwise does not need it at all. All marks of this kind are entirely omitted by Mr. Gilbert, and we think wisely. Constant practice is the only sure reliance.

And—we suppose in order to compel the chanters to follow their eyes rather than their memories—Mr. Gilbert does not always point the same words in the same way, even when set to the same time.

For instance, in the 4th verse of the 37th Psalm, when set as the "Fourth Selection," he points,

Delight | thou in the | Lord: etc.;

while in the same Psalm on the Seventh Day of the month he points,

Delight thou | in the | Lord: etc.;

and in this instance both are set to the same music.

The greater portion of the chants are single chants, not a few very good ones being by Mr. Gilbert himself. The music is conveniently placed on every page, so as to catch the eye easily. The *Venite* is set to 30 different chants, so as to be in sympathy with the Psalter for all the days of the month. Every detail shows the result of long and *successful* practice in the training of a large choir to sing the Psalter, and the form of getting up, for distinctness and convenience, is of the very best.

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## VI. GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Aryo-Semitic Speech: A Study in Linguistic Archæology.* By James Frederick McCurdy. Andover: Warren F. Draper. London: Trübner & Co.

Mr. McCurdy has grappled manfully with the most fascinating problem of linguistic science—the connection between our family of languages and that of the Hebrews and Arabs; or, as Mr. McCurdy calls them, the Aryan and the Semitic speeches. The geographical contact of the two great races, and their likeness in physique, culture, and history, irresistibly suggest that they are near akin. The languages, too, have a marked general resemblance; they are coupled together as the inflected languages. A good many words are alike. When our young theologians begin to study Hebrew, they find the most tempting resemblances between Hebrew words and Greek, Latin, and English on almost every page of their Hebrew lexicons. There is seldom a class in any of our well-taught theological seminaries in which there are not some incipient philologists who try to construct a demonstration of the original connection of Hebrew with the Indo-European languages.

It is plain, however, that it is not safe to compare full-formed words as we now have them in English, or Latin, or Greek, directly with similar words in Hebrew. They have often changed very much in the historic period. It is agreed that the Germanic, Celtic, Italic,

Greek, Slavic, Persian, and Indic speeches all come from one parent speech, and that the Hebrew, Arabic, and the like come from another parent speech. To prove the families akin, we must first make out the forms of the words in the parent speeches; then we can compare these with each other. But there are no records of the parent speeches. The words in them are made out by reasoning. Thus Mr. McCurdy mentions *agra* as the word for *field* in the Indo-European parent speech; not that any such word has been found written or engraved on any old monuments; but we find German *acker*, English *acre*, Latin *ager*, Greek *ἀγρός*, Sanskrit *ajra*, mean nearly the same thing; they must have been descended from some one word. We think up some word which will give *acre*, *ager*, *ajra*, and the rest, when we apply to it the laws of change which prevail in each language; *agra* answers the conditions, and is accepted as the word. A similar process must be gone through with the Hebrew and other Semitic words to find the Semitic parent-speech word. The two theoretic original words are then ready for comparison. A goodly number of such pairs of words must, of course, be made out. Mr. McCurdy takes the plan of collecting the words for common elementary notions, such as *burn*, *shine*, *cut*, *rub*, *join*, *stretch*. It is no light task, and one might hope that when it were done all would be clear.

As a matter of fact, however, a further comparison shows that there is an essential difference running through the two families in the structure of the words. The Aryan words are made by combining monosyllables; the Semitic seem to have three syllables, certainly three consonants, to begin with, and vary by changing their vowels. These two processes of formation and inflection must be investigated, and a new parent-speech made out, giving forms prior to the establishment of the processes. This is labor; this is work indeed.

Mr. McCurdy's book is certainly no trivial essay. It shows scholarly knowledge of the difficulties of the investigation and of the methods of carrying it on. It goes through the necessary processes with patience and with a good deal of research. But after all it is not very convincing. In these thin regions of remote investigation, scrutinizing parent-speeches spoken no one knows where or when, dead and lost utterly thousands of years ago, common sense flutters hopelessly and can see nothing clearly. A brilliant discovery of a new law or a new method of combination which should at once solve the problem, might possibly be made by a young investigator. But in the absence of that, it is hardly to be hoped that any real progress towards a solution of the difficulty can be made by any one but a

veteran investigator. The men can be counted on the fingers who are known to scholars to be competent to say that a book of this kind is really important. A weak book, of course, may be weak in such ways as to betray itself to plenty of persons.

*The Literary History of England. In the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th Century.* By Mrs. Oliphant. In three volumes. New York: Macmillan & Co.

Every new work from the pen of this author confirms the judgment of the English-reading public. Her versatility has been shown by her staple of thought and variety of composition. Fiction, art, and biography have been illustrated by her facile pen; and in nothing that she has attempted has she failed to give the indices of superior cultivation, ample scholarly resources, and exceptional mental force. As a novelist she excels the majority of present accepted writers, and as an analyst of character and as a painter of scenes in life or nature she so combines incisive thought with realism and minuteness of detail as to constitute her an artist of high quality. Trollope, and the class of which he is the type, cannot be regarded as competing with her, either in the conception or development of a plot as a basis of fiction.

This work, like "The Makers of Florence," is both historical and biographical, while it gives occasion for literary criticism and philosophical judgment on the causes and consequences of the characteristic tastes and phases of specific eras in literature. The introduction, though short, is full of suggestive thought, and reveals the underlying critical judgment that shapes the entire composition. She eschews the artificiality of Dryden and Pope and their followers in poetry, and of Johnson and his imitators in prose; and in the sequel, with keen appreciation, proceeds to trace "the awakening of the new epoch in literature which dawned in the end of the eighteenth century, stretching forward into our own, and not only creating a new code and new laws, but changing the very atmosphere, the scene, the firmament and being in a pure, moral and in a higher soul." Cowper and Burns she regards as the heralds of the new day. Scholarly sketches are given of the historic names in literature, in poetry and prose, from Cowper to Keats, and from Johnson to Jeremy Bentham and James Mill. Such topics as "Literature in Scotland before Burns," "The Coteries before Wordsworth," "The New Brotherhood," "The Cockney School," "The Country," "The Upper Circle," "Literature in Ireland," "The Historians and Philosophers," broadly and genially treated, make the work a thesaurus of literary incident and gossip of inestimable value.

But it has a higher value than the living personal interest it resus-

citates in the subjects and awakens in the reader, for it abounds in skilful and thorough criticism. Again, its historical value, as a reproduction of literary society and student life in the periods treated, will commend it to those who desire a wider knowledge than that of isolated representatives, however famous, of the different guilds in literary work. The atmosphere of periods seems to be carried along by the author as she sharply defines their characteristics, exemplified in the individuality and labor of the heroes in letters.

We feel confident that no competent reader will dispute our judgment when we commend the work as a valuable addition to the historical, biographical, and critical knowledge of the literature and literary men of the renaissance in England.

*Essays from "The Critic."* Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

This is a slight volume in point of matter, and the treatment is light, delicate, fresh, almost gossipy; but, for all that, its flavor is excellent, and it indicates the kind of comment in literature which is most in vogue. Here are several of the present-day critical writers, with characteristic specimens of their work. Walt Whitman comments on the deaths of Carlyle and Longfellow; John Burroughs writes of "Nature in Literature;" Mrs. Julia Ward Howe gives her views of English Society and "Endymion;" R. H. Stoddard criticises the work of Mrs. Burnett; Edward Eggleston puts himself on the record as to "George Eliot and the Novel;" Edmund W. Gosse writes of Austin Dobson; and there is much more in the same vein. It is partly good; but, nevertheless, it is independent, trifling, whimsical, saucy writing, and the good is often more than offset by what is bad. Mr. Stedman's papers are the best in the volume, but even Mr. Stedman is far from being a first-class critical writer. Mr. Edwin P. Whipple in his best days by far excelled him, and all this new company besides. Something better than the work in this little volume, if we are ever to have a proper school of American literary criticism. The critics themselves have not yet, in most cases, become aware of what criticism is.

*Familiar Allusions: A Hand-Book of Miscellaneous Information.* Begun (but left unfinished) by William A. Wheeler. Completed and edited by Charles G. Wheeler. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

This volume belongs to the class of books which no intellectual worker can do without. It includes the names of celebrated statues, paintings, palaces, country-seats, ruins, churches, ships, streets, clubs, natural curiosities and the like, and is a companion volume to Mr. W. A. Wheeler's "Dictionary of the Noted Names of Fiction." It is a unique work. Nothing of its kind has previously existed, and it has been made up from every available and authoritative source. It is

almost as indispensable as the dictionary, and, while not professing to be perfect, is invaluable for information which is inaccessible to the general public in any other way. It is chiefly devoted to information about allusions which are not recondite but just out of common.

*The Shakespeare Phrase-Book.* By John Bartlett. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Mr. Bartlett is the only man of this generation who has had the patience to furnish the readers of Shakespeare with an easy access to his phraseology. The work differs from that of Mary Cowden Clarke in the fact that it is a concordance of phrases rather than of words. Mr. Bartlett's plan has been to take every sentence from Shakespeare's dramatic works which contains an important thought, with so much of the context as preserves the sense, and put each sentence under its principal words, arranged in alphabetical order. This causes the omission of many words, but the plan, on the whole, enables one very readily to find the passage he is in search of, and the various senses in which an important word is used are all spread out on the same page, so that the book is almost as useful for philological purposes as for reference to special passages. Mr. Bartlett limits himself to the dramatic works, but greatly adds to the value of the work by giving at the end the comparative readings of Dyce, Knight, Singer, Staunton and Richard Grant White. He follows the text of Messrs. Clark and Wright. The book is a companion volume to the "Familiar Quotations," which is the best-read book of our time, the Bible only excepted.

*The Cyclopædia of Practical Quotations*, English and Latin. With an Appendix, containing Proverbs from the Latin and Modern Languages; Law and Ecclesiastical Terms and Significations; Names, Dates, and Nationality of Quoted Authors, etc. With Copious Indexes. By J. K. Hoyt and Anna L. Ward. New York: I. K. Funk & Co.

We give the title-page in full of this volume, which every one can see at a glance is a work of huge labor and industry. It makes accessible some 17,000 quotations, being a much larger number, we believe, than can be found in any other volume of the kind. It is termed by the compilers "practical," as expressive of what they hope the book will prove to be to the reader, viz., a practical assistant in composition, and a useful addition to every library where books of reference hold a place. The arrangement is alphabetical, under subjects, from "Abhorrence" to "Zephyr" inclusive. Good taste and judgment are displayed, and a large amount of wit and wisdom is here gathered, although, to be frank, we must say that some of the quotations are commonplace enough and could just as well as not



be spared. Perhaps the most striking features in the volume are the elaborate indexes to both English and Latin subjects, and the concordances to the English quotations and the translations from the Latin. By means of these helps almost any topic can be examined, and some appropriate quotation found respecting it. We have noted some typographical slips in the course of our looking through the volume, but, we are glad to say, they are few and far between.

*Magyarland: Being the Narrative of our Travels through the Highlands and Lowlands of Hungary.* By a Fellow of the Carpathian Society. Two volumes. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington.

The "Fellow" whose work this new four-handed firm has lately brought out is a woman who appears to have taken a tour in parts of Hungary not very often visited by foreigners, and who, therefore, gives her readers accounts of places, persons and things which have at least the merit of novelty. Despite an occasional display of "padding," she has managed to bring together a number of entertaining facts and incidents, the narration of which makes us wish that we, too, might have belonged to her company. One cannot but admire the patriotism of the Magyars among whom she traveled, while at the same time the amount of ignorance and of a certain kind of degradation is sufficient, perhaps, to account for their failure thus far to achieve any separate national existence.

*The Gypsies.* By Charles G. Leland. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Mr. Leland bids fair to take the place of the late George Borrow in Gypsy literature, and is no mean adept in establishing an affinity with this peculiar race of people wherever they may be found. The present book is rather a collection of essays than a homogeneous work. It records Mr. Leland's experiences among gypsies of different nations, embracing descriptions of the justly famed musical gypsies of St. Petersburg and Moscow, of the Austrian gypsies who composed the first Romany orchestra of that country, and also of the English, Welsh, Oriental, and American brethren of the dark blood and the tents. To these is added a characteristic letter in the gypsy language, legendary stories, poems, and an essay on the origin of the gypsies. Mr. Leland is thoroughly at home in these papers, and feels the fascination of his subject. His book is valuable for its ethnological information, not less than for its glimpses of an unusual and vanishing life. The volume is delightfully written, and is all the better from the fact that the author is enthusiastic over his gypsy friends.

*Desmond Hundred.* Round Robin Series. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

This singular title has enough of mystery in it to attract the attention of the reader and hold it until the solution is reached in a very fascinating heroine, the last of Desmonds, whose fortunes we follow with unflagging zeal to the end. The interest of the story centers in three characters, and is rather an analytical study of motives than a running commentary upon events: Nazareth Samson, a purely intellectual being in a lovely form—a character well worked out, but disappointing; Honor Desmond, a charming compound of Irish impulsiveness and Spanish pride; and Adam Ardref. In this latter character is evidently embodied the author's conception of a true priest of God: a man endowed with unusual sensitiveness to all human affections, and who resigns all through fear of an ascendancy which would unfit him for his life-work. From the author's standpoint the conclusions reached are inevitable; and from any point of view the character is a noble one. The book is well worth reading, and may be both song and sermon to those who look for either.

*Æmilius.* A Tale of the Decian and Valerian Persecutions.

*Evanus.* A Tale of the Days of Constantine the Great.

*The Rival Heirs.* Being the Third and Last Chronicle of Æscendune. By the Rev. A. D. Crake, B.A. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.

These three volumes form a "series intended to illustrate the history and manners of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers." While the author was chaplain of All-Saints' School, Bloxham, he related the substance of these tales to the boys under his charge. The events are historical, but are invested with all the fascination of romance. They must in their original form—as they are sure to do now—have inspired the youthful mind to noble resolutions.

They are fitting introductions to the history of the Church, and ought to be placed where the young can read them.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

MOST OF THE BOOKS HERE ACKNOWLEDGED WILL BE NOTICED IN THE  
NEXT ISSUE OF THE "REVIEW."

*The Book of Concord*; or, the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. With Historical Introduction, Notes, Appendices and Indices. By Henry E. Jacobs, D.D. In two volumes. Vol. I.: The Confessions. Philadelphia: G. W. Frederick.

*Thoughts on the Lord's Prayer.* By the Rev. Frederic Cavan Blyth, M.A. New York: James Pott.

*The Principles of Church Polity.* Illustrated by an Analysis of Modern Congregationalism, and applied to certain important practical questions in the Government of Christian Churches. SOUTHWORTH LECTURES delivered at Andover Theological Seminary in the years 1879-1881. By George T. Ladd. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

*Hours with the Bible*; or, The Scriptures in the Light of Modern Discovery and Knowledge. By Cunningham Geikie, D.D. Vol. IV.: From Rehoboam to Hezekiah, with the contemporary Prophets, with Illustrations. New York: James Pott.

*The New Testament* of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Translated out of the Original Greek; and with the former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised. Containing the Authorized Version, commonly called "The King James Version," and the New Revised Version, arranged in parallel columns for comparison and reference, also containing the notes of the New Version; Readings Preferred by the American Committee; History of the Committee on Revision; Chronology of the New Testament; Index to Subjects; chapter-heading and running head-lines. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

*National Religions and Universal Religions.* By A. Kuenen, LL.D., D.D. The Hibbert Lectures, 1882. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

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